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Nicknames and Nonce-names in Shakespeare's Comedies

ALLEN B. KELLOGG

NICKNAMES, in the modern sense of substitute, gratuitous, and more or less leechlike forenames, are by no means abundant in Shakespeare's comedies. We certainly appear to have a genuine nickname, though, in Sugarsop, i.e. 'sugarplum' (in *The Taming of the Shrew,* IV.i.91), the concluding name in a series of first names spoken by Grumio as he directs Curtis to call forth the servants to greet Petruchio and his bride.[1] Likewise in *Pericles* (II.i.12–14) two of the fishermen address each other as Pilch 'leather jacket' (?) and Patch-breech. Possibly *these* should be termed quasi nicknames.

Under this designation we could include the names of several of the more or less clownish characters in the comedies: Speed, Moth (pronounced like *mote,* either word being admirable to suggest diminutiveness), Costard (a kind of large apple—applied humorously to the head), Elbow, Froth, Touchstone, and Verges ('verjuice'—with dialectal pronunciation). Verges, however, may have been a surname; Dogberry pretty clearly was.

As students of names are well aware, nicknames are a fertile source of surnames. *Shakespeare* itself is an example and gives us the pattern for *Falstaff* and *Martext.* The appropriateness of the name is, in this last instance, surely meant to be relished, as is true of such names as Aguecheek, Belch, Shallow, Slender, Mistress Quickly (quick + lie), Mistress Overdone, Alice Shortcake, and Kate Keepdown. Often the surnames, as in the cases of Anthony Dull and Peter Simple, are so patly descriptive as to be nicknames in effect. And the effect is heightened when, as is usually true, the surname is used throughout the play to the virtual exclusion of the

forename. In the case of one clownish character, though, Pompey (in *Measure for Measure*), we learn his surname (Bum 'bottom') only when he is brought before an examining magistrate.

Names like Shylock strike us as surnames. However, it has recently been suggested that Shylock is a (contemptuous) descriptive term rather than a true name. Norman Nathan points out that Tubal never calls Shylock by name—also that neither Lorenzo nor his friends use the word Shylock in Jessica's presence.[2]

Assumed names are sometimes descriptive in the manner of nicknames; note Imogen's *Fidele* (in *Cymbeline*). In *As You Like It* Celia, choosing a name for herself in her self-imposed exile, decides upon *Aliena* as "Something that hath a reference to my state."

Nicknames include familiar forms of Christian, or given, names. More than a dozen different pet forms and diminutives are to be found in Shakespeare's comedies. Kate, a diminutive of Katherina, comes to mind at once, as does Meg, derived from Margaret. The pet form Nell, in *The Comedy of Errors,* might come from Ellen, Eleanor, or Helen;[3] but in *Troilus and Cressida* when Paris speaks of "my Nell" he is of course referring to Helen. Nan is a pet form of Ann, and Maud (coming through French) of Matilda. Maudlin is from the French Madeleine, which goes back to Magdalen. Nick (Bottom) is a pet form of Nicholas, and Robin (Starveling) is a diminutive of Rob, a pet form of Robert. Dick (in Sir Toby's "Dick surgeon") is a nickname for Richard, as Tom is an abbreviation of Thomas. Ed, an abbreviation of Edward, appears in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the dialect form Yead. Malkin, a diminutive of Moll, a pet form of Mary, had, before Shakespeare's time, become a common noun with the meaning 'kitchen-maid' (*Pericles,* IV.iii.34). Likewise Tib, from Isabel, had taken on the meaning 'a low woman,' as in Marina's lines (*Pericles,* IV.vi.175–76):

> ". . . doorkeeper to every
> Coistrel that comes inquiring for his Tib."

Jack, a pet form of John, is used in at least four ways: (1) as a forename (Jack Rugby in *The Merry Wives of Windsor);* (2) as a general term for *man* (always coupled with Jill—as in the final scene of *Love's Labour's Lost);* (3) in the compound Jack-a-Lent 'puppet,'

found twice in *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* (4) as a term of contempt (= 'knave') in such phrases as these:

"play the flouting Jack" (*Much Ado About Nothing*)
"these bragging Jacks" (*The Merchant of Venice*)
"Jack priest" (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*)
"Every Jack-slave" (*Cymbeline*)
"play'd the Jack with us" (*The Tempest*)

Similar to the nicknames, except in the quality of permanence, are the nonce-names—ranging from slightly disrespectful to openly scornful—which various characters fling at one another or apply to someone not present. As might be expected, *Much Ado About Nothing* provides several examples. Beatrice, at the very outset, refers to Benedick with a fencing term, *Signior Mountanto* (he pays her back shortly with *Lady Disdain* and *my Lady Tongue*), and later speaks of Claudio as Count Comfect ('comfit'). The nonce-names Monsieur Love (in Act II) and Lord Lackbeard (in Act V) reflect the changing attitude of Benedick toward Claudio. The scorn in *Pedascule* ('little pedant'), which Hortensio hurls at Lucentio in *The Taming of the Shrew,* is as obvious as the expression is amusing. In *As You Like It* Jaques and Orlando close a diverting bout at repartee, during which they have desired to be better strangers, with:

"I'll tarry no longer with you. Farewell, good Signior Love."
"I am glad of your departure. Adieu, good Monsieur Melancholy."

In *Pericles* Helicanus characterizes a flattering lord with *Signior Sooth here;* in *The Tempest* Stephano calls Caliban *Mooncalf,* and Antonio speaks of Gonzalo as *this Sir Prudence.* Ulysees' reference, in *Troilus and Cressida,* to Achilles as *Sir Valour* contains more than a grain of irony, whereas the context in *The Comedy of Errors* makes it quite clear that Dromio of Syracuse's name for the greasy kitchen-wench Nell, Dowsabel (*'douce et belle'*), is ironically applied.

The nonce-name shades off almost imperceptibly into the abusive epithet. In *Measure for Measure* (III.ii.52) Lucio addresses Pompey as *Trot* (literally 'old woman'); in about half the editions which I have consulted the initial *t* of *Trot* is not capitalized. So far as I have observed, no editor capitalizes the initial *c* of *crack-hemp*

('gallows-bird'), a name which the outraged Vincentio in *The Taming of the Shrew* hurls at his dissembling servant Biondello.

From the rich store of nounce-names in Shakespeare's comedies a few more examples will suffice. In the concluding scene of *All's Well That Ends Well* Helena addresses Parolles as *Good Tom Drum.* In *Measure for Measure* Mistress Overdone is announced by Lucio, a fantastic, as *Madam Mitigation.* The Host, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* taking advantage of the French physician's limited knowledge of the ways of English, addresses him as *Mounseur Mockwater.* Benedick speaks of the conscience as *Don Worm,* thus reminding us of the medieval practice of representing the conscience under the symbol of a serpent. And when, in *The Winter's Tale* (II.iii.74–75), the incensed king upbraids Antigonus with

> "Thou dotard! thou art woman-tir'd, unroosted
> By thy dame Partlet here"

our minds flash back to happier scenes in an incomparable tale told by a certain nun's priest.

NOTES

[1] The numeration of acts, scenes, and lines is that of the New Cambridge Edition, *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare,* edited by William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill and published in 1942 by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

[2] Norman Nathan, "Three Notes on *The Merchant of Venice*," *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* Vol. 23, pp. 152–173.

[3] See E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (New York, 1947) under the entry *Nell(y).*

Arabic Place Names in Spain

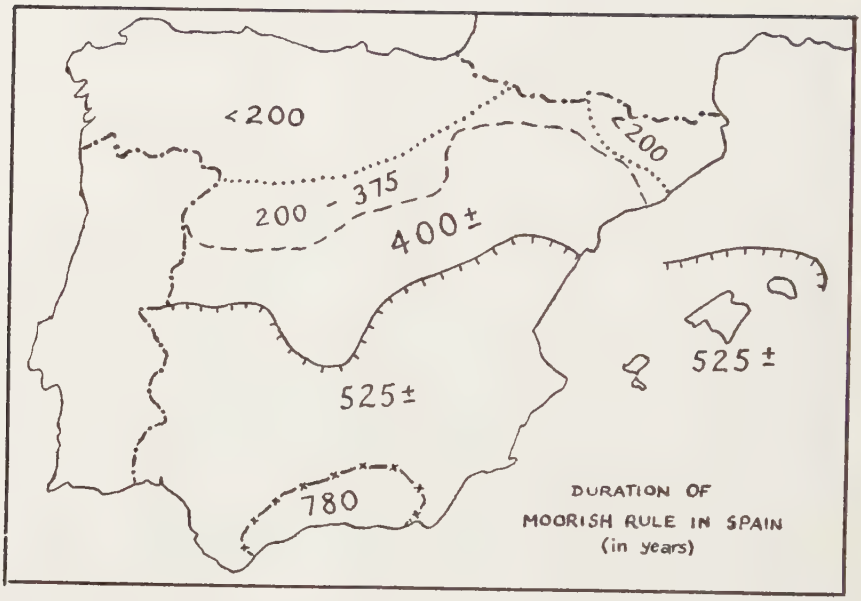
DAVID E. SOPHER

GEOGRAPERS, HAVING A SPECIAL INTEREST IN PLACE NAMES, may themselves make worthwhile contributions to toponymic study. For one, local geography must provide confirmation of etymological derivations. In the study of Spanish place names, Alijar and Guadalupe may be cited as illustrative cases. The Arabic names which have been suggested as their original forms are descriptive terms referring to characteristics of their sites, but the derivations remain uncertain, in part because the validity of the descriptions has not been checked locally.[1]

A map showing the distribution of certain classes of place names may help to judge the merits of alternative derivations. A Germanic and an Arabic origin have been suggested by different writers for "Valdomar," a name found in the Galician provinces of Lugo, Orense and Pontevedra. The general distribution of both classes of place names makes the Germanic origin by far the more probable in this case. The name "Madina" belonging to five settlements in the small Basque province of Guipuzcoa must be removed, on similar grounds, from the list of Arabic place names prepared by Asín Palacios.[2]

Distribution maps of place names may disclose linguistic-historical relationships. A Portuguese study of the distribution of "Aldeia" shows it occurring chiefly in northern Portugal, but south of the Douro, indicating that the word, which has come to mean 'village' in Romance languages, was used early in the post-reconquest period, when many small settlement units came into existence in that area.[3]

Evidently a geographer wishing to understand the morphogenesis of cultural landscapes should not neglect the form and distribution of place names. As a crude measure of the imprint of suc-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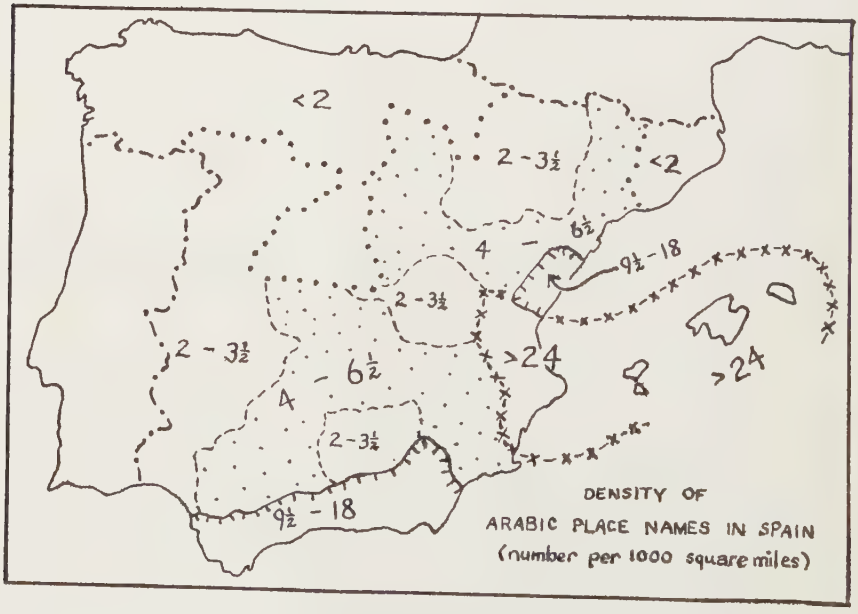
DURATION OF
MOORISH RULE IN SPAIN
(in years)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6½
4
9½ - 18
2 - 3½
2 - 3½
4 - 6½
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9½ - 18
DENSITY OF
ARABIC PLACE NAMES IN SPAIN
(number per 1000 square miles)

cessive cultures, the distribution of place names has a special interest. As early as 1905, Elisée Reclus, one of the pioneers of modern anthropogeography, attempted to map the occurrence of place names of Arabic origin in the Iberian peninsula, despite the inadequacy of the linguistic data then available.[4] More recently, another geographer, Hermann Lautensach, has made a detailed distributional study of Portuguese place names, including those of Arabic origin,[5] and in a masterly monograph on economic life in Spain under the Berber dynasties, Dubler found that much supplemental information could be gleaned from the examination of place names.[6]

Asín Palacios' work on Spain, giving the province in which each Arabic place name found by him occurs, makes possible a consideration of the general distribution of these names. It is desired to show, on the basis of modern survivals, the extent to which place names of Arabic or partly Arabic form were given in the Moorish domain by Arabs, Berbers and Mozarabs. This requires the exclusion of the "Aldea" names and others (e.g. Acenia: 'watermill'; Atalaya: 'watchtower'; Arrabal: 'quarter' or 'suburb') which, like "Aldea," were most probably given after the reconquest, when the Arabic words had become a living part of Romance languages spoken in the Christian territories.

With the elimination, by rather crude empirical methods, of such names of probable post-reconquest origin, the distribution of the remaining Arabic names has here been considered in terms of their density (number per thousand square miles) in each province (see fig. 1). The highest densities (above 30) are found on Mallorca and in the southeastern coastal province of Alicante. With the exception of Murcia (61½) and Valencia (24), the remaining provinces along the coast from Cadiz to Castellón have densities of 9½ to 18. Most of Spain, including the core of Moslem Andalusia, namely the provinces of Seville and Córdoba has a thin, uneven sprinkling of Arabic names, with provincial densities ranging from 2 to 6 per 1000 square miles. In the north, Galicia, northern Leon, Old Castille including Madrid, the Basque provinces and the northeastern Catalan provinces (Gerona and Barcelona) have densities of less than 2.

The correlation between density of Arabic place names and duration of Moorish rule (see fig. 2) is very loose. It fits best in the

areas occupied only for a brief period by the Moslems: here naturally the fewest Arabic names are found. For the rest of Spain, other significant variables relating to the giving and retaining of place names affect their density. These will now be considered.

1. *Changed names.* The nature of cultural contact affects the degree in which new names replace existing ones. Ignorance of indigenous names or a disinclination to use unfamiliar sounds may lead to substitution of a new name in the language of later arrivals, and then to the complete displacement of the older name (e.g. English names replacing Indian names in seventeenth century New England). Antipathy toward the native culture group intensifies this process. So does the conscious desire to emphasize cultural distinctions (as in the case of Christian names—saints' names, etc.—of Spanish-American colonial towns superimposed on pagan Indian names), and the wish to mark symbolically changes in culture (e.g. New York for New Amsterdam; in Spain: Gibraltar, 'the mountain of Tariq,' after the Arab conqueror, replacing ancient *Calpe* and the earlier Arabic *Jabal Farsī;* also, perhaps, Valladolid, 'the town of Walid,' replacing an older name?).

These tendencies to change run counter to the conservatism and, possibly, uninventiveness of most social groups, as a result of which large numbers of place names are taken over, more or less intact, by new cultures from preceding ones, if the nature of the contact between the two cultures permits it.

The Arabs in Spain appear to have been tolerant of existing settlement names. Hence, in Andalusia, where the basic pattern of present settlement was probably in existence during the period of Roman domination, cities and towns in which Moorish culture flourished so grandly continued to bear their pre-Moorish names. A study of Andalusian town sites has shown that 38 of the 42 towns with more than 8000 inhabitants are on or near the sites of Roman settlement;[7] only three of these towns have Arabic names.

The Arabs were less reluctant to give new names to physical features like mountain ranges and rivers, displacing older names. The abundance of river names with the element "Guad-" (*wādī*) is remarkable. Asín Palacios lists 92 of Arabic form, excluding such names as Guadiana and Guadix, in which the prefix has simply been added to the pre-Moorish name (Guadiana: 'river Anas'; Guadix: 'river Acci'). Possibly the use of the Arabic generic term

became so common in Mozarabic Spain as to induce by analogy a preference for names having this form, and so ousted the older names to the advantage of Arabic epithets which may originally have been used side by side with them (e.g. Guadalquivir, from *Wādī al-kabir,* 'the great river'; alternatively *Wādī al-Qurtuba,* the river of Cordoba; Roman *Baetis).* Perhaps, also, more than one local name had been in use for different sections of rivers or for parts of mountain ranges; the geographically more sophisticated Arabs might then have been obliged to give new names to the topographic units. The existence of regional names of Arabic origin like La Mancha (from Arabic *manja,* 'high plain') makes this all the more plausible. The distribution of "Guad-" names is very different from that of the total of Arabic place names, which are predominantly names of settlements. The "Guad-" names occur mainly in Andalusia and the southern Meseta, with a very few on the coastal plains of the Levante; the provinces of the Guadalquivir basin, for instance, have 32 per cent of the "Guad-" names, but only 7½ per cent of all Arabic names.

2. *Names of new places.* Most of the new settlements made by the Moslems in Spain were rural settlements. Many of these accompanied the great elaboration and expansion of irrigation in the Levantine provinces, which made possible an intensive oasis agriculture in favored places along the coast. This economy was characterized by a dense population, closely dispersed in single farmhouses and hamlets around the trade centers and ports. The numerous Arabic names in these provinces and on Mallorca are a reflection of this Moslem contribution to Spain's economy and settlement geography. The density of Arabic names decreases sharply with the decreasing density of population inland from the margins of the *huerta* zone of irrigation.

Many of the Arabic names in the Levante have a special character. The immigrant rural population was Berber, the Arabs like the Jews being almost exclusively town-dwellers; the earlier Berber population was substantially augmented by immigration from Morocco under the Almoravids. In the Levantine area, characterized by small peasant holdings, hereditary ties to particular parcels of land were strong, and farms and hamlets were often designated by personal names, not only of individuals, but very often of families. More than half of the Arabic place names in Valencia

and Alicante are family names, many of them Berber (e.g. Benejama, from *Banī Jamā'a;* Benifató, from *banī Fathūn;* Benisano, from *Banī Sahnūn*).

The paucity of Arabic names in the Guadalquivir basin is partly due to the persistence and intensification in Moorish times of the earlier population pattern of a small number of large agglomerations. The highly developed Moorish city culture produced a noticeable rural-urban migration, perhaps accelerated, as Ibn Khaldun implies, by the antagonism of herders toward sedentary farmers. Purely agricultural settlements were predominantly compact villages of considerable size associated with large land holdings (*latifundia*). Thus, few occasions arose for the giving of Arabic names to new rural settlements in this area.

How the density of Arabic names varies with the density of settlements may be illustrated by comparing the provinces of Seville in the Guadalquivir basin and Soria in eastern Castille. Arabic names comprise 19 per cent of *ayuntamiento* (township) names in Seville compared to 7 per cent in Soria, but rural settlements in Soria are so much more numerous, and at the same time much smaller, than in Seville that both provinces have the same density, 5 per 1000 square miles of Arabic names. Of new settlements made by the Moors, a large number were established for military purposes. More than a fifth of the Arabic place names contain a reference to fortifications or some other feature of military organization (e.g. Alcázar: Arab. *al-qasr,* 'castle'; Borja: Arab. *burj,* 'tower'; Alcalá: 'fortress'; Alcolea: 'small fort'). Berbers were also prominent in this aspect of settlement building. Dubler has shown that Berber individual and family names were given to military establishments in the march lands contested by Christians and Almoravids from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh. Toledo, Guadalajara, Soria, and Teruel have slightly higher densities (5 to 6 per 1000 sq. m.) than provinces to the south, perhaps because of the number of fortified stations of Berber warrior-monks (*murābitūn*) established in those provinces. Dubler mapped the distribution of a small group of place names like Almonacid, Miravete and Ravita, all of which refer to establishments of the Moslem Berber military-religious orders, and showed that the largest concentration of these names is in the former border area; a smaller concentration occurs in Granada, where the

Moslems resisted conquest for two and a half centuries after the loss of the major part of Andalusia.[8]

Towns built by the Arabs were few, and records of their founding are fragmentary. Murcia is a rare example of such a town, having been founded and named by order of one of the Omayyad rulers.[9] Several names applied to newly built residential and administrative suburbs of older towns now survive in the names of farms and hamlets (e.g. Ruzafa in Córdoba and Valencia, from *rusafa:* 'pleasure park'; Zahara, from *zahrā:* 'brilliant,' a residential quarter of Córdoba). One writer categorically states that the Arabs, though urban, founded no towns in the Guadalquivir basin.[10]

An area of exceptional character in this respect was the Kingdom of Granada, which for 250 years before the final act of the reconquest was an asylum for Moslem refugees from the lands retaken by the Christians. In turn the Christian population of Granada moved to Andalusia and the Levantine provinces; a well-defined border, recalled in place names like Jimena de la Frontera, Jerez de la Frontera and Morón de la Frontera, separated Christian Spain from Moslem Granada, which had ceased to constitute a real threat to the former. In the Moslem territory, settlements swelled by refugees grew into populous fortified towns, many of which, particularly those located in mountain valleys on the eastern slope, carried Arabic names.[11]

3. *Lost Names.* Arabic place names were probably accepted without difficulty by the Christians of Moorish Spain, many of whom became bilingual; no doubt they, too, had a hand in giving names of Arabic form to new places. On the other hand, the reconquest of Moorish Spain by the Christian kingdoms sometimes brought a sharp hiatus in cultural continuity, during which place names were not uniformly transferred from one culture to the other.

Arabic names of rural places would be lost if the settlements were destroyed or remained depopulated for some length of time. This happened in Castile, where Moslem villages were razed, the border towns suffered greatly in the long military campaigns and destruction of the economy of conquered areas was such that Avila and Segovia were said to have been repopulated only after the fall of Toledo. Arabic names are less conspicuous in Madrid, Avila and Segovia than in the provinces to the east. In Estremadura, war ravages, the dominance of a pastoral economy over a once-flourish-

ing agriculture and a heavy emigration to the New World in subsequent centuries contributed to the disappearance of many settlements; here also the veneer of Arabic names is remarkably thin. In Andalusia, too, many of the estates which formerly had been carefully cultivated, were converted into great sheep runs, empty of human habitation.

Where rural settlements survived, their former names were nevertheless occasionally displaced. Existing farmsteads and hamlets were distributed to the feudal subjects of the Christian kings, and this change in ownership was often accompanied by name changes. The frequent occurrence of "Villanueva" in Andalusian place names does not mark the founding of a new settlement, but the reorganization of the ownership of an existing one, like Villaverde, in Seville, on the site of a Moorish *alquería* whose earlier name has been lost.[12]

Removal of Arabic names simply because of their origin was certainly not deliberate; such an origin was hardly suspected and the meaning of the names but dimly known, as witness post-reconquest tautologies like Rio Guadalquivir and Puente de Alcántara.

The transference of control from Moslems to Christians in the Catalan area of Aragon was effected more smoothly than was the case in the Castilian reconquest. Until the excesses of the Inquisition, Moslems were kept on the land, although often as serfs, and productivity was maintained at the high level it had reached earlier. This was especially true in the Balearic Islands, where, in the post-reconquest period a civilization was elaborated which "successfully integrated elements of Provencal and Judaeo-Arabic culture." Mallorca became a flourishing center of the Catalan commercial empire, reaching a peak of economic well-being in contrast to the sharp decline in so many parts of Spain.[13] Under these conditions Arabic place names enjoyed good chances of survival, as their present distribution shows. On the mainland, a painful dislocation of the economy took place much later, with the expulsion of the Moriscos, the imperfectly assimilated Moslem population, but cultural continuity, involving also the survival of place names, had by then been effected.

The same orderly transfer of authority took place in Granada. Its conquest at the end of the fifteenth century, though long awaited, was an anticlimax; harem intrigues and Moslem dissension allowed

the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella to clear the Peninsula of Moorish power. The Moorish population remained, encouraged to do so by a few initial years of intelligent self-interest on the part of its new rulers; when the Moriscos were summarily expelled 70 years later, the towns had become occupied predominantly by Christians; the country, however, was in many places desolated in consequence of the expulsion. Names given by the Moors to the urban places they had founded continued to be used: 40 per cent of *ayuntamiento* names in the province of Málaga are of Arabic origin and the proportion is yet higher in Granada.

The foregoing notes indicate the kinds of geographically varying conditions which may affect any distribution of place names. They also suggest, tentatively, results which may be expected from thorough etymological and historical investigation of all Spanish place names thought to be of Arabic origin. Further detailed investigation would help to explain some perplexing features of the distribution of Arabic names, such as the relative scarcity of these names in the province of Murcia. For the cultural geographer, the particular significance of the distribution of Arabic place names as described above is its general correspondence with the distribution of enduring Moorish innovations in the settlement pattern of Spain.

NOTES

[1] Asín Palacios. *Contribución a la toponimia árabe en España.* 2nd ed. Madrid, 1944. pp. 64, 110. Oliver Asín. "'Alijar,' 'Alijares,'" *Al-Andalus,* 7(1942). 153–164. Gutierre Tibón "The name of Guadalupe," *Names,* 1(1953). 128–129.

[2] Asín Palacios. *op. cit.* p. 117.

[3] Cited in Lautensach, H. "Die Portugiesische Ortsnamen; eine sprachlich-geografische Zusammenfassung," *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen,* 6(1933). 136–165. For a general discussion, see Dahl, S. "Geografi och ortnamnsforskning," *Ymer,* 65(1945), 94–102.

[4] Reclus, E. *L'homme et la terre.* Paris, 1905, v. 3, p. 454.

[5] Lautensach, H. *op. cit.*

[6] Dubler, C. *Ueber das Wirtschaftsleben auf der Iberischen Halbinsel vom XI zum XIII Jahrhundert.* Zurich, 1943.

[7] Niemeier, G. "Siedlungsgeografische Untersuchungen in Niederandalusien," *Hamburgische Universität Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde,* 42, ser. B (1935).

[8] Dubler, C. *op. cit.,* p. 114. See also the same author's "Ueber Berbersiedlungen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel," *Romanica Helvetica,* 20 (1943). 183–196, *passim.*

[9] Asín Palacios. *op. cit.* p. 124.

[10] Niemeier, G. *op. cit.* p. 36.

[11] In southwestern Málaga, for instance, in the upper valley of the Rio Genal, 60 per cent of the place names on the modern 1:250,000 map are of Arabic origin.

[12] Niemeier, G. *op. cit.* pp. 41, 44.

[13] Sorre, M. "Espagne," *Géographie Universelle,* 7:1(1934). p. 153.

The Source of "Ku Klux"

WILLIAM E. MOCKLER

No more awesome and dreaded a name than "Ku Klux Klan" has appeared on the American scene. As early as 1884, Lester and Wilson,[1] writing of the Klan's growth, declared that the hooded order never would have wielded the power it did had it not borne a name so meaningless and mysterious.

> Had they called themselves the "Jolly Jokers" or the "Adelphi," or by some similar appellation, the organization would doubtless have had no more than the mere local and ephemeral existence which those who organized it contemplated for it. . . . But in this case there was a weird potency in the very name Ku Klux Klan. . . . The sound of it is suggestive of bones rattling together!

In a more recent study of the Klan movement, Stanley F. Horn[2] asserts that

> the thing that caused the new organization to attract attention and later to spread beyond any dream of its organizers was unquestionably the impression created and the curiosity aroused by its mysterious, sonorous name. It was the kind of name people liked to repeat, just to hear the sound of its sinister syllables.

Adding further to the mystery associated with the name are the popular tales that have been woven about its origin: "Ku Klux Klan" is a Hebrew term met with in a very old Jewish work in which the orthography is "Cu-Clux Clan;"[3] the name originated among Chinese merchants engaged in smuggling opium and was introduced into America by Hon. Humphrey Marshall;[4] the designation was derived from "Cukulcan," purportedly the name of the god of light in ancient Mexico, stories of whom were brought north by fathers and uncles who had fought in the Mexican War;[5] the click of rifles being cocked resembled the sound of the repeated letters "K.K.K.," and the name grew from them.[6]

Etymologists who, with some reservation, derive "Ku Klux" from the Greek κύκλος, 'circle,'[7] find apparent authority in the historical account of the Klan's birth:

The Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1865-66 in Pulaski, Giles County, Tennessee, on the Alabama border, by six young men[8] who had served in the Confederate Army and were seeking diversion in a community where life was dull and monotonous.[9] It was, at first, purely a social organization for the purpose of affording amusement to the members who held secret meetings, wore disguises, called their officials by odd-sounding titles, and introduced would-be members to the game of snipe-hunting.[10] One writer says that some of the initiation ceremonies "resembled those of the well known college fraternity—Alpha Sigma Sigma."[11]

At an early meeting, a committee which had been appointed to suggest a name for the new society reported difficulty in carrying out its task, and some discussion ensued. Finally, according to the traditional account,

> Richard Reed suggested that they call it the Kuklos, from the Greek word κύκλος, from which our words 'circle' and 'cycle' are derived; and this suggestion met with immediate approval. They repeated the word over a few times; and Captain Kennedy, having an ear for alliteration, suggested that they introduce another 'K' sound in the name by adding the word 'clan.' The alliterative sound was further improved by changing Kuklos Clan to Kuklux Klan. . . .[12]

To some of the Klan organizers—former college students—classical Greek was a familiar subject, and "Ku Klux" doubtless has its ultimate source in the Greek word κύκλος. At the same time, the possibility that the mysterious "Kuklos" came to the mind of Reed or of one of the others not as the κύκλος of college text-books but as the name of an already existing "Kuklos Society" cannot be overlooked.

The first suggestion that "Kuklos" was not unknown before 1866 as an organizational title appears in the testimony of Daniel Coleman of Athens, Alabama, before a Congressional Committee set up in 1871 to investigate Klan activities. Coleman stated that he was "first led to look into the Ku Klux organization by reason of the similarity of its name to the name of a society to which he belonged when he went to college—the κύκλος Society."[13] Further identification of this "Kuklos" organization or evidence that its name was known to the first Klan members has not appeared.

A satisfactory solution to the mystery of Coleman's society, however, seems possible on the basis of materials uncovered by LeRoy S. Boyd and published in *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities.*[14] The forgotten "Kuklos Society" would appear to be the long extinct southern fraternity Kuklos Adelphon or "old Kappa Alpha."[15] Founded in 1812 at the University of North Carolina by four members of Phi Beta Kappa, this order by the middle of the nineteenth century had spread to colleges throughout the South.[16] Its constitution, ritual, and secrets are described as "so similar to those of the original Phi Beta Kappa as to indicate strongly that it was a descendant of one of the community branches chartered by Phi Beta Kappa before its dissolution at William and Mary in 1781."[17] That the full name "Kuklos Adelphon" was not a secret designation is attested by its appearance upon the fraternity's badge, which is described in some detail and illustrated in Baird.

Perhaps because it remained sectional, Kuklos Adelphon became the largest college secret society in the southern states before the Civil War, with chapters—significantly called "circles"—in twenty-one schools.[18] Circles existed also in county-seat towns where membership included "the professional and gentry classes."[19] Dissolution of the society began in 1855 and was completed by 1866.[20]

Evidence exists to show that more than one of the Klan's charter members, perhaps all of them, had sufficient opportunity for knowing of Kuklos Adelphon or the "Kuklos Society." At the outbreak of hostilities, John B. Kennedy was attending Centre College at Danville, Ky., where, according to Baird, a circle of the Kuklos probably existed.[21] James R. Crowe was studying law in Marion, Ala., at the time of his enlistment in 1861.[22] A circle of Kuklos Adelphon appears in the Baird list at Howard College, then located in Marion. For the other early members—Reed, McCord, Lester, and Jones—no information more specific than that they were college graduates is available.[23] No important institution of higher learning, however, in the region around Giles County was without a circle of Kuklos Adelphon before the War. There was one at not-far-distant Union University in Murfreesboro and probably one at the Western Military Institute of Tennessee near Nashville. Just across the Alabama line and even closer to Pulaski was the one to which Coleman apparently had belonged—that at

LaGrange College in Limestone County.[24] West of Limestone in the adjoining county of Lauderdale was a fourth at Florence Wesleyan. Farther south in Alabama were the circles at Howard College, Centenary Institute, and the University of Alabama.

It is hardly credible that to any young college man of the middle South in the late '50's or early '60's the name of so widespread a society would be unfamiliar. The presence of Kennedy at Centre College and of Crowe in Marion, Ala., the proximity of Pulaski to schools where chapters of Kuklos Adelphon had been placed, and the existence of community circles in county towns, all point to the conclusion that some of the Klan's organizers were acquainted with Kuklos Adelphon and that it rather than the classical Greek furnished the immediate source of "Ku Klux." Further, a name from such a source would not have been incongruous in view of the original Klan's aims and methods, which so closely modeled those of the Greek-letter fraternity. The chief irony of the whole situation lies in the fact that what would appear to be merely the borrowed half-title of a college society no more nocuous than the earlier Phi Beta Kappa became a vital factor in the rise to power of one of the most incredible organizations ever to mark the pages of American history.

NOTES

[1] J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan, Its Origin, Growth and Disbandment,* with Introduction and Notes by Walter L. Fleming, New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Co., 1905, p. 56. The first edition (1884) was privately printed in Nashville.

[2] Stanley F. Horn, *Invisible Empire, The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866–1871,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939, p. 11.

[3] From an article in the Memphis *Appeal* quoted by Horn, p. 8.

[4] From the Richmond *Whig,* 1868, Horn, p. 8.

[5] From W. B. Romine, editor of the Pulaski *Citizen* (1939), in an interview in a Nashville paper in 1934, Horn, p. 13.

[6] Professor Ruel E. Foster of the English Department at West Virginia University states that he has heard this story in his native Kentucky. Cf. a similar tale in Horn, p. 12.

[7] The NED, for example, has: "Ku-Klux. More fully Ku-Klux-Klan. [A fantastic name said to be made out of Gr. κυκλος circle + Clan."]

[8] Maj. James R. Crowe, Capt. John C. Lester, Capt. John B. Kennedy, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, and J. Calvin Jones.

[9] Eyre Damer, *When the Ku Klux Rode,* New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1912, p. 90.

[10] *Revised and Amended Prescript of the Ku Klux Klan,* West Virginia University Documents Relating to Reconstruction, (No. 2), Walter L. Fleming, ed., Morgantown, West Virginia, February, 1904, p. 3.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The author states (p. 12), "This is the story of the origin of the name as told by surviving charter members; and its authenticity seems beyond question." In his introduction to the 1905 edition of Lester and Wilson, p. 21, Professor Fleming quotes James R. Crowe, one of the two Klan founders then surviving: "A committee composed of Richard R. Reed and Calvin Jones was appointed to select a name for the organization. The Greek for *circle* was chosen. We called it Kuklos (κυκλος), which was changed to Ku Klux afterward when the name was proposed to the Circle. John Kennedy suggested that we add another *K*, and the order was then called Ku Klux Klan . . . ." Other accounts of the choice of name vary only with regard to minor details.

[13] Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 12

[14] Fifteenth edition, Harold J. Baily, ed., Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1949, pp. 850–851. Earlier editions of Baird contain essentially the same information under the section devoted to inactive fraternities.

[15] "Old Kappa Alpha" or Kuklos Adelphon had no connection with either the Kappa Alpha Order, which was founded at Washington and Lee in 1865 and has remained distinctly southern, or the Kappa Alpha Society, which was founded at Union College (New York) in 1825.

[16] Baird, pp. 850–851.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 850.

[18] Baird names fourteen circles known to have been in existence. The others are thought to have existed.

[19] Baird, p. 851.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Information contained in a communication of May 22, 1953, from Mrs. A. R. Richardson of Pulaski, a niece of Kennedy. See also the *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXI (1913), p. 240.

[22] Lester and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 19. In a communication of May, 1953, Mrs. Elliott M. Buchanan of Chattanooga, Crowe's niece, says that he was attending school at the Marion Military Institute in Marion at the time of his enlistment.

[23] Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 14. In a communication dated April 2, 1953, Mr. Horn says, "The early writers about the organization of the Klan state that the organizers were 'college graduates' . . . . but that is as far as I have been able to go."

[24] As mentioned above, Coleman lived in Athens; and Athens is the county seat of Limestone.

Acteon's Dogs

D. T. STARNES

It is not certain how many dogs Acteon had on the fatal occasion when, changed into a hart, he was pursued and torn to pieces by his own hounds. Ovid[1] gives the Latinized Greek names of 36 and refers to "others whom it were too long to name." In 1566, Joannis Ravisius Textor inserts in his *Officina*[2] the heading *Canum Quorundam nomina,* under which he lists some 25 dogs of classic literature but refers his reader to "Ouid. lib. 3 Metam." for the individual names of Acteon's dogs. To Acteon, Natalis Comes devotes a whole chapter of his *Mythologiae*[3], recording in the order of Ovid's text the names of 33 of Acteon's pack. Comes comments that some maintain Acteon had, all told, fifty dogs—a statement which Comes does not attempt to support. In 1567, Arthur Golding translated the *Metamorphoses* into English[4] and, for the first time, listed the names of the hunter's dogs in the vernacular.

As early as 1555, Hadrianus Junius published his *Nomenclator omnium rerum propria nomina variis linguis explicata* in Latin, Greek, Dutch, German, French, Italian, and Spanish. This work went through many editions in the sixteenth century.[5] In 1585, John Higgins added the English terms and limited the foreign tongues largely to Latin, Greek, and French.[6] For our discussion, the Latin and English are most pertinent. Although the *Nomenclator* has no mention of Acteon, it has a topical heading "Names of Dogs," under which are listed 37 names. So far as I know, it has not been noticed hitherto that the majority of these are from Ovid's catalogue of Acteon's dogs. The list thus compiled by Junius and Englished by Higgins continued, as we shall see, in the English-Latin dictionaries through the seventeenth century.

It is desirable, however, to have before us the names we have

alluded to and which we shall need to consider in more particular detail. First, the Latinized Greek names of Ovid are here listed, for convenience, in alphabetical order:

Aello, Agriodus, Agre, Alce, Asbolus, Canace, Cyprius, Dorceus, Dromas, Harpalos, Harpyia, Hylactor, Hylaeus, Ichnobates, Labros, Lachne, Lacon, Ladon, Laelaps, Leucon, Lycisce, Melampus, Melanchaetes, Melaneus, Nape, Nebrophonus, Oresitrophus, Oribasus, Pamphagos, Poemenis, Pterelas, Sticte, Theridamas, Theron, Thous, Tigris.

In Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses,* the English names, alphabetized, are as follows:

Blab, Blackfoote, Bowman, Chorle (Churl), Cole, Eatal, Fleetewood, Greedigut, Hunter, Hylbred, Jollyboy, Kilbucke (Kildeere), Ladon, Laund, Lightfoote, Patch, Ringwood, Royster, Ruffler, (Shaggie) Rugge, Savage, Scalecliffe, Shepeherd, Slo, Snatch, Spring, Spy, Stalker, Swift, Tawnie, Tempest, Wight, Woodman, (Little) Woolfe.

As far as we know, this is the first appearance of Acteon's dogs in English dress. If we count "Kilbucke" and "Kildeere" as one, the number in Golding's list is 34.

As the Junius-Higgins *Nomenclator* of 1585 is basic to our discussion and as the Latin and English names are most pertinent, we here transcribe these names from the Junius-Higgins, omitting the Greek and French equivalents. The *Nomenclator* has the names in alphabetical order, according to the Latin:

Aello	Ouid.	Swift, or tempest
Aglaodos	Ouid.	Whitetooth
Agre	Ouid.	Hunter
Alce	Ouid.	Stout, or royster
Anyte	Epig.	Makeshift, or makespeede
Argus	Hom.	Bright, or swift
Asbolus	Ouid.	Cole
Canache	Ouid.	Blab, or barker
Charon	Aeschyl.	Lion
Corax	Aeschl.	Crowe
Dorceus	Ouid.	Hunt dow, spie all, or quickeshift
Dromas	Ouid.	Runner, or post
Harpalus	Ouid.	Catch, or snatch
Harpyia	Aesch. & Ouid.	Greedie
Hylactor & Hylax	Ouid.	Ringer, chanter, or barker
Hyleus	Ouid.	Wood, wild, or sauage

Ichnobates	Ouid.	Treader, or tracer
Labros	Ouid.	Lightfoote
Lachne	Ouid.	Rug, shaghaire, or ruffen
Ladon	Ouid.	Harier, or hunthare
Laelaps	Ouid.	Whirlwind, or tempest
Laethargus	Epigr.	Close byter
Lampurus	Theocr.	Whitetail, or fox
Leucon	Ouid.	Blanch, or whitecoat
Lycisca	Ouid.	Woolfe, or churle
Melampus	Ouid.	Blackfoote
Melaneus	Ouid.	Coleblacke
Nape	Ouid.	Forrester, or ranger
Nephrobonus	Ouid.	Fawnbane
Oresitrophus	Ouid.	Hilbred
Oribasus	Ouid.	Scalecliffe, or rangehill
Pamphagus	Ouid.	Eatall, or rauener
Podargus	Hom.	Sheepheard
Pterelas	Ouid.	Spring, or flight
Sticte	Ouid.	Pied coat, or patcht
Theron	Ouid.	Killbucke, or fierse looke
Thous	Ouid.	Flight

A comparison of the Latin names in this list with the original names in Ovid (p. 3, above) shows that the *Nomenclator* omits four—Lacon, Melanchaetes, Theridamas, and Tigris, substitutes one—Podargus for Poemenis (shepherd), and adds six from sources other than Ovid—Anyti, Argus, Charon, Corax, Laethargus, and Lampurus. Of the 36 names in the *Nomenclator* list, 29 are directly from the passage in the *Metamorphoses* naming Acteon's dogs. In other words, five-sixths of the names of dogs in the *Nomenclator* are those of Acteon's hounds, but not so specified.

The English equivalents in the Junius-Higgins table may be compared with those in Golding's translation. The correspondences are obvious and, while some of these may be the result of identical translations of the same Latin words, about one-half of the English names in the *Nomenclator* seem to derive from Golding; that is, in making his list of English names, Higgins consulted Golding's translation though he did not always adopt Golding's phrasing. Among the English terms in the *Nomenclator* which reflect, wholly or partly, Golding's language are these: "Blab, or barker"; "Catch, or snatch"; "Eatall, or rauener"; "Hilbred"; "Killbucke, or fierse

looke"; "Rug, shaghaire, or ruffen"; "Scalecliffe, or rangehill"; "Whirlwind, or tempest"; "Woolfe, or churle." Three of the suggestive names in Golding which Higgins did not place in his list in the *Nomenclator* are "Fleetwood," "Jollyboy," and "Ringwood." It is surprising that "Fleetwood" and "Jollyboy" do not reappear in the catalogues of dogs' names after Golding. Of "Ringwood," we shall hear more.

The Junius-Higgins catalogue in the *Nomenclator* next appears in the *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (1589), an English-Latin dictionary with a Latin index, by John Rider. In a special section near the end of his book, Rider has class-names of colors, trees, birds, beasts, etc. Here we find the legend *nomina canum* (Cols. 1714–1715) and, underneath, the names of dogs, English and Latin, arranged alphabetically, according to the English, as "Blabbe, or barker—*Canache*"; "Blackfoote—*Melampus*"; "Blanche, or whitecoate—*Leucon*"; etc. Rider's bilingual list is identical, except for the general rearrangement and the substitution of one name, with that in the Junius-Higgins *Nomenclator*. The substituted word is "Ringwood." Whereas the *Nomenclator* has "*Hylactor*. Ringer, chanter, or barker," Rider has "Chaunter, or ringwood. *Hylactor*." Rider may have remembered "Ringwood" from Golding and preferred it to Higgins' "Ringer."

Rider's *Bibliotheca* was revised and augmented by Francis Holyoke in 1606 and printed frequently thereafter (1612, 1617, 1626, 1627, 1633, 1640, 1648–9, 1659). In these Rider-Holyoke dictionaries, the English-Latin table of dogs remains unchanged. In 1664, Francis Gouldman published *A Copious Dictionary in Three Parts* (English-Latin, Latin-English, and Proper Names), in which he borrowed freely from the Rider-Holyoke dictionary, including the bilingual list of dogs. This continued unchanged in the various editions of Gouldman (1669, 1674, 1678). Meantime, in 1677, Thomas Holyoke, son of Francis, published *A Large Dictionary in Three Parts,* based on the Rider-Holyoke, Gouldman, and others. Thomas took over intact the now conventional list of dogs' names.

George Sandys' translation of the *Metamorphoses* (1626, 1632)[7] shows no conclusive evidence that he was familiar with the dictionary lists published before 1626 but that he knew Golding's translation and borrowed some of the names, including Ringwood, which Golding had used.[8]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the most obvious literary association with Acteon's dogs is in Shakespeare. Pistol warning Ford to look after his wife (*Merry Wives.* 2. 1. 119–20) says

> Prevent, or go thou
> Like Sir Acteon he, with Ringwood at thy heels.

As the *Nomenclator* does not list Ringwood among its dogs and as Rider does not associate the name with Acteon, one might infer that Shakespeare got Ringwood directly from Golding. This is probable, but there are other possibilities. Anders *(Shakespeare's Books)* cites a contemporary song entitled "Mad Tom" or "New Mad Tom of Bedlam," which has these lines:

> Hark! I hear Acteon's hounds!
> The Huntsmen whoop and hollowe;
> Ringwood, Royster, Bowman, Jowler,
> All the chase now follow.[9]

The prominence of Ringwood in this song—if known to the dramatist—would have been suggestive. In 1592, fifteen of the names in Golding's list are cited by Abraham Fraunce.[10] Fraunce writes:

> The names of his hounds are all set from the naturall qualities and proprieties of doggs: *Laelaps, Aello, Nebrophonus, Dorceus, Harpya, Lycisca, Melamphus, Pamphagus, Agriodos, Pterelas, Hylaeus, Hylactor, Melanchaetes, Theridamas, Oresitrophos:* signifying Swift, Tempest, Killbuck, Spy, Snatch, Woolfe, Blackfoote, Eatal, Sauage, Lightfoote, Woodman, Ringwood, Black, Killdeere, Hillebred.[11]

Here too, as Baldwin notes, "Ringwood is only one of the pack, and is taken from Golding."

Baldwin's own suggestion that the double mention of Hylax and Hylactor in the grammar school texts and especially Ben Jonson's mention of Ringwood in his entertainment called the *Satyr* (25 June 1603) may have resulted in Shakespeare's choice of Ringwood seems farfetched. What we know is that Ringwood is Golding's coinage and from Golding, directly or indirectly, Shakespeare borrowed the word.

A passage of ten lines in *Macbeth* indicates that Shakespeare may have been familiar with the *Nomenclator* or Rider's *Bibliotheca* as well as Golding's Ovid. Macbeth speaking to the Murderers, says:

> Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men;
> As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
> Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves, are clept
> All by the name of dogs: the valu'd file
> Distinguishes the swift, the slow, the subtle,
> The housekeeper, the hunter, every one
> According to the gift which bounteous nature
> Hath in him clos'd; whereby he does receive
> Particular addition, from the bill
> That writes them all alike: and so of men. (3. 1. 91–101)

Natalis Comes writes that the names of Acteon's dogs as presented by Ovid signify colors of their bodies or *sagacitas*—acuteness of perception, shrewdness, cunning, or characteristic traits befitting dogs. The truth of the observation is obvious and it is recognized by Macbeth in the words "the valu'd file/ Distinguishes the swift, the slow, the subtle/ The housekeeper, etc." Shakespeare did not, of course, need to consult a catalogue for the class names "hounds, greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs, etc." It should be noted, however, that the *Nomenclator* places before its list of proper names of dogs certain class names, including "bloodhound, draught hound, greyhound, a farmers dogge; a cur to keepe house (Cf. Shakespeare's "the housekeeper"), a rough or curled haire dog: a waterspaniell, a mungrel, etc." It is quite possible that the "catalogue" or "valu'd file" in Shakespeare's mind was that of the *Nomenclator* of 1585.

The lines quoted from *Macbeth* and their context revealing the protagonist's relationship to the murderers have a connection with the allegorical interpretations of the Acteon myth in contemporary emblem books. In Emblem 52 of Alciat's *Emblemata* (ed. with a commentary by Claudius Minois, 1608) is a woodcut of Acteon being seized by his hounds, with the legend *In receptatores sicariorum* (On the harborers of murderers). The six lines of Latin accompanying the cut refer to Acteon as one who had entertained robbers, thieves, and assassins and thus taken up the horns and given himself a prey to his own dogs. In his comment on the phrase "In receptatores" Minois states that there are several Acteons who seem to themselves more celebrated if they receive in their homes and at their tables any kind of murderers or indolent gluttons and men of no worth, not foreseeing with their mind's eye that they themselves will be reduced by the loss of their patrimony and will suffer the

loss of their good name and even of their life. In the circumstances, such an application would not be inapplicable to Macbeth.

NOTES

[1] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with an English Translation by Frank Justus Miller (London, 1928). 3. 206–233.

[2] I have used the edition of the *Officina* published at Basle, 1566. pp. 202–203.

[3] *Mythologiae, sive Explicationum Fabularum, Decem libri.* Venice, 1568. Ch. 24.

[4] Shakespeare's Ovid Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the *Metamorphoses.* Edited by W. H. D. Rouse. London, 1904. 3. 245–281.

[5] Here are some of the editions of Junius—Antwerp: 1557, 1567, 1576, 1583; Frankfurt: 1591, 1596, 1611.

[6] *The Nomenclator or Remembrancer of Adrianus Junius, Physician.* Englished by J. Higgins. London, 1585.

[7] Ovid's *Metamorphosis* [sic] *Englished, and Represented in Figures.* By G. S. Imprinted at Oxford by John Lichfield, 1632. pp. 85–6.

[8] These are the English names in Sandys' translation: Blab, Blackfoot, Blanch, Catch, Churle, Clime-cliff, Cole, Collier, Courser, Fawnbane, Flight, Follow-dread, Greedy, Hill-bred, Hunter, Kill-deare, Light-foot, Mourner, Patch, Ranger, Ravener, Ringwood, Royster, (shag-haired) Rug, Salvage, Snatch, Shepherd, Spie, Swift, Tempest, Tracer, Tiger, Whirlewind, Whitetooth, Woolf.

[9] See T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944. 2 vols. II, 430–32.

[10] *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembroke's Yuychurch.* Quoted by Baldwin, *op. cit.*, 431.

[11] Baldwin, *op. cit.* Quoted from Douglas Bush's "Notes on Shakespeare's Classical Mythology," *PQ,* VI, 295.

A World Dictionary of Breeds, Types, and Varieties of Livestock. By Ian L. Mason. (Slough, England, 1951.) Technical Communication No. 8 of the Commonwealth Bureau of Animal Breeding and Genetics.

This work lists by name and by geographic area all of the better known breeds, types and varieties of most of the species of livestock. Synonyms are included, and there are many hundreds of names—mainly of geographic origin—given for the principal forms of the Ass, Buffalo, Goat, Horse, Ox, Pig and Sheep. The only important lack is the absence of the Camel and Dromedary.

Peter Birds

W. L. McATEE

THE NAME PETREL, meaning little Peter, and analogous terms in various languages, have a common significance. It was well explained by Alexander Wilson in writing about a species that still bears his name. Of this Storm, or Wilson's petrel he said:

> the most singular peculiarity of this bird is its faculty of standing, and even running, on the surface of the water, which it performs with apparent facility. When any greasy matter is thrown overboard, these birds instantly collect around it; and facing to windward, with their long wings expanded, and their webbed feet patting the water, the lightness of their bodies, and the action of the wind on their wings, enable them to do this with ease. In calm weather they perform the same manoeuvre by keeping their wings just so much in action as to prevent their feet from sinking below the surface. According to Buffon, it is from this singular habit that the whole genus have obtained the name Petrel, from the apostle Peter, who, as Scripture informs us, also walked on the water (1824, VII:97.)

Petrel does not seem to be an American folk-term but "Peter" is, and the name doubtless was first adopted for a bird that seemed to be doing something like water-walking. John Lawson in *A New Voyage to Carolina,* 1709, mentioned "Blue-Peters, the same as you call Water-Hens in England" (p. 151). The European waterhen is a close relative of our Florida gallinule, which, if Lawson was correct, must be considered the prototype of our "blue Peters." A. C. Bent says of this bird: "its flight seems weak, labored, and awkward; it flutters along, barely skimming the surface, half flying and half running on the water, as if unable to rise" (1926:352).

I first heard the name "blue Peter" for the American coot, a bird much better known than the gallinule, and one to which the name cited is more widely and more frequently applied. Again quoting Bent: "running along the surface, it beats the water with wings and feet, splashing alternately with its heavy paddles . . .

until it gains sufficient momentum to fly" (1926:363). Thus the coot also is a "water-walker."

The "home range" of the name "blue Peter" doubtless is the Carolinas, and for a choice, coastal North Carolina, where a section of Currituck Sound much frequented by coots, is known as Peters' Quarter, and there are derived names for two species of birds. One of these is "sinkin' Peter" for the pied-billed grebe, in allusion to its ability to sink quietly beneath the water without leaving a trace; and the other "Peter ripper" for the marsh hawk, referring to the attacks of this harrier upon flocks of coots. These are easily observed, while similar attempts upon the more scattered, marsh-dwelling gallinules would be seldom seen.

In 1888 (p. 118), Gurdon Trumbull recorded the name blue Peter as used for the coot from Virginia south to Florida. Since then it has spread farther as records are at hand from Maine to Texas along the coast and from one inland State—Ohio. The appellation is varied to blue petie (N. Y.), blue pete (Ga., Fla.), and Peter (S. C.). The Florida gallinule is known as blue Peter (N. J., N. C., S. C.), and marsh Peter and sedge Peter (N. C.)

A larger and more brilliantly colored gallinule, the purple, is called blue Peter (S. C., Fla., Mo., La., Tex.) and blue pete in Florida, where near Archer there is a Blue Pete Lake.

The application of Peter-terms to the least tern is not clear. Perhaps Peter has been considered transferable to almost any water bird, including the tern, or the names now to be cited may be in part sonic. They are: killing peter, killopeter, killpeter, and sand peter, all from Florida.

A few other birds have been given Peter-names for diverse reasons. Blue Peter (the green heron, N. Y.) probably refers to its color in silhoutte, with "Peter" as a familiar or pet name. Then Peter bird for the bluebird (N. Y.), and for the tufted titmouse (Md., Ohio, Ind., Ky., Mo., Tex.; peter-peter also, Ind., Ky.) allude to notes of the birds deemed to sound like the word "peter."

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The Name Melissa

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

One of the older names which seem to have had some resurgence of popularity in recent years is Melissa. In both its forms, Melissa and Melitta, the name denotes 'a bee' in Greek. Its ultimate origin is from Greek *meli,* 'honey.'

In Greek literature there are innumerable references to persons or supernatural beings named Melissa. In the field of legend, we find a princess of Crete named Melissa, the daughter of a king Melisseus. This princess was believed to have fed honey to the newborn god Zeus, in the cave in which the divine mother, Rhea, gave him birth (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i, 22; Ant. Lib., 19; Apollod., *Bib.* i, 1, 6–7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 182; Columella ix, 2, 3). This Melissa is said to have been the first priestess of the Magna Mater; and in later times her name was pluralized to denote the priestesses of the cult, Melissai.

Artemis of Ephesus, as moon and birth goddess, is sometimes given the name Melissa (Porph., *De Antr. Nymph.* 18); and her chief priest was called a 'king bee,' *essen* (*Et. Mag.,* s.v.). Demeter, too, mother-goddess and patroness of agriculture, was sometimes called Melissa, and her priestesses Melissai (Callim., *Hymn. Apoll.* 110–112; Porph., *De Antr. Nymph.* 18; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iv, 60; Schol. Theocr. xv, 94). A woman named Melissa was honored by Demeter with a revelation of her mysteries; she was later torn to pieces by other women, to whom she had refused to reveal the sacred rituals (Serv., *Aen.* i, 430). Demeter, we are told, caused bees to be created from the dead woman's body. Women who celebrated the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, and priestesses of those goddesses, were called Melissai, 'bees,' or Hierai Melissai, 'holy bees.'

A beautiful woman named Melissa was changed into a bee by

Zeus (Columella ix, 2, 3). Muses and nymphs are often associated with, or called, bees, and are said on occasion to have been changed into bees, or to appear as bees (Himerius, *Or.* x, 1; xxviii, 7; Philostr., *Imag.* ii, 8, 6; Varro, *R. R.* iii, 16, 7; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iv, 60; Porph., *De Antr. Nymph.* 18). The priestess of Apollo at Delphi is called the "Delphic Melissa" (Pindar, *Pyth.* iv, 59–60).

There is some evidence that the legendary and religious uses of the name Melissa are tied in with a very old ritual of bee mummery and dancing, with accompanying frenzy and prophecy, the whole performed by costumed women, over a wide area in prehistoric Crete, Greece, and Asia Minor,[1] in the worship of various female divinities or supernatural beings of great antiquity, associated with motherhood, fertility, and prophecy. In this connection, we may perhaps note the parallel of the Hebrew Deborah, "Bee," who was a prophetess.

In the classical and Greco-Roman periods the connotations of the name Melissa-Melitta were quite different from those of the name in earlier times.

One of the best-known references to the name appears in Athenaeus iv, 157 A—in an account of a dinner party. There were present, says the Greek author, two well-known courtesans, Melissa and Nicion. The latter of these he calls sportively a *kynamuia,* 'dog-fly.' Melissa he calls *theatrotoryne,* 'ladle of the theater.' Elsewhere[2] I have shown that this epithet denotes a woman who performs a lascivious dance in which she rotates the hips and jerks the body in a manner reminiscent of the motions of a ladle stirring food. It is evident that this Melissa was akin to the modern dancer who uses "bumps" and "grinds" in the theater today!

In another passage (xiii, 578 A-579 E) Athenaeus speaks at some length of a witty and popular courtesan whose real name was Melitta, but who so maddened her lovers that she came to be known as Mania.

In Alciphron's *Letters of Courtesans* (iv, Letter 13, frag. 6) appears a *hetaira* named Melissa. In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Hetairai* (4), one of the speakers is the courtesan Melitta. And, in Latin literature, Petronius (*Cena* 61, 6 and 62, 11) gives the name Melissa to the woman who is the lady-love (although she is married!) of Niceros.

Of an earlier period is the Melissa who is associated with Periander of Corinth. Periander, a "tyrant," or, as we should say, dictator, fell deeply in love with and married Melissa, daughter of Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus (Athenaeus xiii, 589 F). Here we are certainly not dealing with a courtesan. However, the story is told by Athenaeus in his section on courtesans; and he adds that Periander first saw the young woman when she was acting as cupbearer to the men, "wearing but one tunic"—very scanty and unprincesslike garb! Diogenes Laertius (i, 94) tells us that her real name was Lyside, but that Periander himself nicknamed her Melissa. The romance faded some years later; and Periander indeed is said actually to have slain his wife (Herodotus iii, 50).

There is a Melissa also in the story of the elder Carneades, the philosopher. He is reported as having been so devoted to his studies that even when he was at table he sometimes forgot to put out his hand to take food. His Melissa "whom he had in place of a wife," used to put his hand upon the food (Val. Max. viii, 7, ext. 5).

Very definitely, then, in the classical and Greco-Roman periods the name Melissa has a connotation of "courtesan, concubine"—a decided change from the earlier significance of a priestess or attendant of one of the major deities. Oddly enough, Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Hetairai* (7), points up the difference quite unconsciously. One of his speakers says to a courtesan: "Be as good a girl as if you were a priestess of Demeter instead of what you are."

How could such a strong change in the connotation of the name have come about? I believe that it can be explained very simply.

In the ritual of "bee pristesses" and "holy bee-women," dancing certainly played a large part—as it did in practically all prehistoric rituals of the Greeks and Cretans. Now, the bee was much respected by all the peoples of classical antiquity, and its habits were observed closely—sometimes even through the agency of hives made of transparent substances (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi, 16, 49–50; xxi, 14, 80). Within recent years scientists have proved conclusively that honey-bees actually do dance, spiritedly and ecstatically. For example, when a worker-bee returns to the hive to report on the finding of a food supply, it performs a frenzied circle-dance if the food is very near the hive; if the food is farther away, the bee engages in a "waggle dance," whipping its abdomen violently to the

left and then to the right. Other bees join in until the hive is a whirring, humming, "waggling" bedlam. These strange dances of the honey-bee have recently been photographed in color, on a very large scale, and presented to audiences in Walt Disney's short picture, "Nature's Half-Acre." Of the two dances, the "waggle-dance," with its marked swinging of the abdomen, could, if imitated by a human dancer or ritualistic "bee-woman," quite easily change, over years, into something very like the "bumps" and "grinds" of the courtesan-dancers.

The Greeks of the classical and post-classical periods seem to have been unaware of the semantic development of the name. To them, for reasons into which they do not seem to have inquired, Melissa was simply an appropriate name for a "companion" or a courtesan. And it is probably just as well that our modern Melissas are happily unconscious of the full background of their name!

NOTES

[1] Lillian B. Lawler, "Bee Dances and the 'Sacred Bees,'" *Classical Weekly*, Vol. 47 (Feb. 15, 1954), 103–106.

[2] Lillian B. Lawler, "Ladles, Tubs, and the Greek Dance," *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 71 (1950), 70–72.

[3] Karl von Frisch, "The Dances of the Honey Bee," *Bulletin of Animal Behavior*, Vol. 5 (1947), 1–32; summarized in *Psychological Abstracts*, Vol. 23 (1949), 1140.

The Chadakoin River

L. F. HAWLEY

Until recent times the outlet of famous Chautauqua Lake in Southwestern New York never had a name. The Indians named other waters in the vicinity but not the outlet, they apparently considered it a part of the lake or a branch of the stream into which it flowed. Likewise the first white men to explore this region, the French, did not give the outlet a name although it formed a part of their important waterway from Canada to the Mississippi. The Evans Map of 1755 shows only one name, Conewago, between the Lake and the Allegheny.

Even after the permanent American settlement in the early eighteen hundreds the outlet had no name aside from its functional designation, the Outlet. Ordinarily it would have been called Chautauqua Creek but that name was given instead to the small stream flowing into Lake Erie that formed the western end of the old Erie—Chautauqua portage. And so the outlet remained nameless for a hundred years.

Such anonymity is not surprising in so small a stream, which carries the waters of the Lake into Cassadaga Creek, a distance of only about ten miles. But the importance of the stream increased with the growth of the city of Jamestown, located on its banks, and when the city became large and old enough to develop a civic pride, a dignified name was sought. The opportunity for an official new name came in 1904 with the mapping of the Chautauqua and Jamestown Quadrangles of the Topographic Survey, and the Outlet became the Chadakoin River.

"Chadakoin" was one of a dozen spellings devised by the French for phonetic equivalence to the Indian name which, much later, the Americans spelled Chautauqua. As a new place name it was therefore just a French version of an Indian name whose English

version had been in use for a hundred years. Any evidence of duplication was, however, obscured by the little matter of pronunciation. The sponsors for the new name must have known how it was pronounced, but they did not care and they did not need to care, because as an American place name Chadakoin had to be pronounced American style, and thus it lost all resemblance to Chautauqua and became a *new* name on the land. (Chadakoin probably holds the record for distance between French and American pronunciation—a famous contestant in that field, Ypres, is a poor runner-up.)

In spite of its dubious antecedents Chadakoin has been a "good" name. The man-in-the-street can tell you that it is an old Indian name, it is widely and proudly used, and it lends distinction to a modest stream. But, best of all, it has provided something actually unique in the way of American place-naming.

On the other hand "River" has not been a good name. It was obviously grandiose for a stream whose waters had to flow through two creeks, the Cassadaga and the Conewango in order to reach a real river, the Allegheny, twenty miles away. The man-in-the-street sensing its pretentiousness is not likely to say "River," and the serious writer studiously avoids the term. Of course "River" is used, mostly carelessly, sometimes deliberately but seldom proudly. Fifty years of official sanction and local promotion have not quite succeded in making a river out of the outlet.

But here again we have an example of unique place-naming—let us call it a two-creek river.

And there are a few die-hard old-timers who still call it the Outlet.

Naming Storms

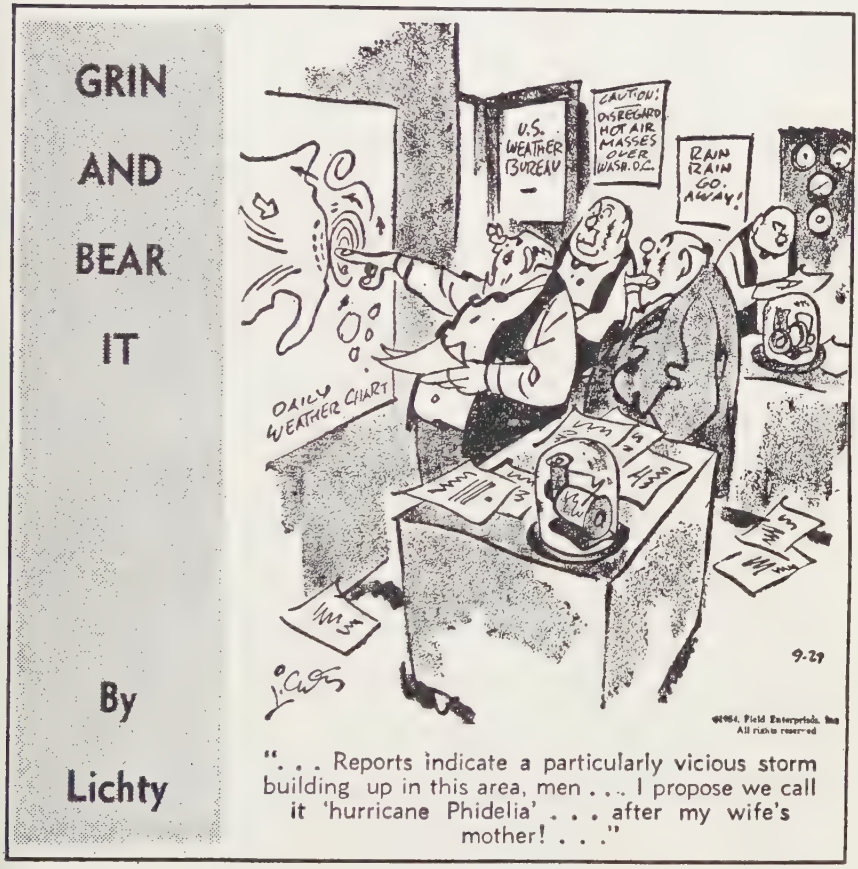
ERWIN G. GUDDE

Since September 1954, the daily and weekly press has been engaged in a lively controversy over a new class of names, the names of hurricanes. The chief points of the controversy are: why do storms bear girls' names; is this in consonance with our American respect for the fair sex; and who started this idea anyway. It became a matter of public discussion when we had two especially furious storms along the Atlantic Coast and the United States Weather Bureau quite casually stated that it was "Carol" and "Edna" who had caused all the damage.

The first reaction was that sensitive females and chivalrous editorial writers expressed the opinion that it is a slur to American womanhood to connect destructive meteorological phenomena with names which we usually associate with gentility and loveliness. Would it not be more appropriate to call vicious storms for tempestuous United States senators or after despoilers and wreckers in history like Genghis Khan or Napoleon or Hitler? Then came the search for the culprit. In an interview Ivan Ray Tannehill, the chief of operations of the United States Weather Bureau admitted to Peter T. White that his Bureau uses girls' names for storms but denied that the custom originated there. He pointed out that George R. Stewart might be responsible because in his best seller novel, *Storm,* he has a junior meteorologist call the hero, or rather the heroine, "Maria," and the storms which play a minor role also bear female Christian names: Ruth, Lucy, Katherine, Antonia, Cornelia.

Everywhere in life the bestowing of names serves a very practical purpose. A name identifies a person, a place, an object, a phenomenon which otherwise would require a confusing and colorless

number or a wordy and inconvenient description. Storms are no exception to this rule. It would be confusing to number hurricanes because number codes are used in radioing weather as well as other reports; it would be most impractical to describe storms. It is much


GRIN
AND
BEAR
IT
By
Lichty
U.S. WEATHER BUREAU
CAUTION: DISREGARD HOT AIR MASSES OVER WASH. D.C.
RAIN RAIN GO AWAY!
DAILY WEATHER CHART
9-29
"... Reports indicate a particularly vicious storm building up in this area, men ... I propose we call it 'hurricane Phidelia' ... after my wife's mother! ..."

easier and much more convenient to say "Cornelia" than "the low pressure center in latitude 175° East, longitude 42° North." Sir Napier Shaw states in his *Manual of Meteorology* that a certain meterologist had felt storms to be so personal that he had given them names, and Mr. Tannehill, in the above mentioned interview, says that storms began to acquire names early in the nineteenth century. Just as Spanish missionaries invariably named a location in honor of the saint on whose feast day they happened

to arrive at the place, the Puerto Ricans are said to have named storms for the saint on whose day the storm broke. This seems to be more disrespectful than giving a girl's name to a hurricane. "San Timoteo" refers to a definite individual, "Mildred" may refer to any of the quarter or the half million women so named—unless the name-giver has a definite girl in mind (as Stewart's meteorologist at first had), or a hen-pecked husband wants to name an especially vicious storm after his mother-in-law (see illustration).

Whether the bestowing of girls' names to storms is unfelicitous or not, it seems that Stewart's young weatherman will have to take the blame for inaugurating the custom. Any serviceman who during the Pacific war was in any way connected with weather forecasts or weather reports will invariably state that this is an old, old custom. However, no evidence has yet been produced that storms had borne female Christian names before Pearl Harbor. In Stewart's novel which appeared in November of 1941 the author felt the need of naming his storm not only for the practical reason of identification. This storm was not incidental to the development of a story of human tragedy—this storm stood in the center of the novel, was its principal character. "More than any human character," Stewart writes in the introduction to the Modern Library edition of the book, "as much perhaps as all of them put together, she was to be the center of attention. Her birth, growth, adventures, and final death were to be the main vortex of the story, with the various little human beings and their troubles and triumphs isolated here and there around the edges."

Although it appeared in the dress of a novel the meteorological authorities recognized the professional value of the scientific monograph presented in the book. There was hardly any budding meterologist who did not read *Storm*—in some cases it was required reading.

The idea of naming storms for girls, or at least after girls' names, was immediately taken up by the rank and file in the meteorological program of the armed forces, vastly enlarged with the entrance of the United States in the war. At first it was done in a humorous way, born out of the irresistible desire of soldiers and sailors to designate each object, place, person, or phenomenon by a short, slangy term. But the practice continued after the war, and the

highest meteorological authority in the United States, the Weather Bureau, finally capitulated. Until 1950 they got along without names for storms. But the need for having concise, easily remembered names grew, and in 1950 a compromise was made. A conference in which the Weather Bureau, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the Navy, and the Air Force participated decided to use the conventional words used by the armed forces to avoid confusion in telephoning, etc.: Able, Baker, Charlie, Dog, Easy, etc. This scheme soon proved impractical because of the international alphabetical code names adopted by foreign weather stations: Alpha, Bravo, Coca, Delta, etc. Hence, at another hurricane conference in 1953 it was decided to accept the popular idea of giving female Christian names to storms, and the storms expected during 1954 were baptized: Alice, Barbara, Carol, Dolly, Edna, Florence, Gilda, Hazel, Irene, Jill, Katherine, Lucy, Mabel, Norma, Orpha, Patsy, Queen, Rachel, Susie, Tina, Una, Vicky, and Wallis.

The storms for 1955 will bear the following names: Alice, Brenda, Connie, Diane, Edith, Flora, Gladys, Hilda, Ione, Janet, Katie, Linda, Martha, Nelly, Orva, Peggy, Queena, Rosa, Stella, Trudy, Ursa, Verna, Wilma, Xenia, Yvonne and Zelda. Alice could be used again because no storm in 1954 bore that name.

With that a new class of names was established, which is in all likelihood going to be permanent. Unless evidence to the contrary is unearthed, our vice-president Stewart will enjoy the credit of having inaugurated this practice. At the same time he might be open to the scorn of those who believe that the vicious hurricane which is traveling at a terrific speed across the ocean toward our coast should not be named Diane but Attila the Hun.

Southern Rivers

M. V. MOORE

WHERE are all the rhythmic rivers of our sunny Southern clime—
Rivers named in Indian legend or in tongue of later time;
Rivers quaint or rivers noble, rivers grand or rivers wee;
From the trickling o'er the pebbles to the sound, or gulf, or sea?
From their fountains gushing, through the mountains rushing;
Dashing deftly, splashing swiftly;
Over ledges leaping, through the valleys sweeping;
By the busy cities creeping, in the murky marshes sleeping;
Through the forests and the bayous wending;
With the ocean and its myriads blending;—
From the mosses and the ferns, how with tireless toil and turns,
To their sea-home, with the sea-foam—
How do all these rivers flow?
Where are kept their restless slumbers?
Where are heard their plashing numbers?
Listen how these rivers go.

Old Virginia, north and eastward, shows Potomac blue and wide;
Northward lovely Shenandoah through the Valley pours its tide:
Southward sweeps here dark Blackwater, deep Meherrin, Nottoway;
Eastward ripples Rappahannock, spreading into placid bay,
With the York, and Back the curious, and the slow Piankatank.
Here's Pamunkey, deep and murky, with its dank and slippery bank;
Here are Occoquan the quaintest, Hazel and Yeocomico,
Robertson and darting Rockfish, and the bounding Buffalo.
Here New, Holston, Clinch, and Powell wind in meadows of the west;
Mingling in their merry music comes the welcome mountain Guest.
Here Elizabeth comes greeting Nansemond, and sisters Anna,
Rapidan, and Mattapony, and the rollicking Rivanna.
Pedlar's here, with Slate and Hardware; (and still playing thus on names)
Let's go down the Jackson, finding green Cowpasture in the James—
Chickahominy there meeting Appomattox with their fames—
Finding North and South united, here with sighing Tye they blend;
Piney, Willis, from its willows, and Calfpasture all here wend.
Here in Roanoke gather Staunton, Dan, and mountain-bright Blackwater
Banister, and Smith, and Mayo, and Hycootee, Pig, and Otter.
Noble rivers! noble country! noble peoples! Nobler ones
Ne'er hath known the dark'ning shadows or the lights of circling suns!
And the daughter, West Virginia, from the rocks and mountain chains,

Pours her torrents swiftly gulfward through her pastures, vales, and plains:
Northward makes Monongahela, green Buchanan, and the Cheat;
In Ohio fleet Kanawhas, Guyandotte, and Sandy meet.
With the Elk, and gay Greenbrier, forking Tug, and Birch, and Holly,
Bluestone, Hughes, East, dingy Coal and Pocotaligo and Gauley.—
Westward pouring, northward roaring, sparkling all in meadows gay;
Wandering like an exile ever, here they scamper, plash, and play,
Ne'er returning for her greeting, from the mother run away.

Carolina! Land of waters! Here the strangest rivers are:
Arrarat, and Alligator, and the famous stream of Tar.
Broad and Rocky here are rivers; here are rivers old but New;
Yellow Black, and silver Green, and Whiteoak, Bay, and Reddie too;
Here the whirling, wild Watauga, leaping Elk, and crooked Toe,
Tahkeeostah, by the Paint Rock, and the wingless Pigeon's flow,
Tennessee, and swift Hiawassee, gulfward all through mountains go.
Where the Cherokee still lingers is the nimble Nantahala;
In the land of Junaluskee is the Vallee, gurgling gayly;
In the dismal lake-land is the viny festooned Scuppernong;
In the cloud-home and the sky-land Swannanoa skims along;
In the pine-lands over marl beds ruby-wine-like Cashie creeps;
In the fern-land from the balsams Tuckasegee grandly leaps.
Here Oconaluftee laughs, and wee Cheowee frets and clashes,
And 'mid towering canyons Linville's silvery spray spurts and splashes;
And here John, with sand all golden, 'neath the rhododendrons dashes.
From Virginia come Meherrin, Nottoway the deep and slow;
In the gray and yellow hill-land, where tobaccoes golden grow,
Tumbling, Dan and Mayo, Fisher, Mitchell, Flat, and Eno, go.
Here is Yadkin winding over like a serpent 'mid the hills;
Here Catawba, pearly pebbled from a thousand brawling rills;
Here's Uwharie with its hurry; here the lazy Waccamaw;
Here is heard the humming spindles on the busy Deep and Haw;
Here in field and swamp and forest are the Lumber and Pedee,
And upon her breast Cohera, Colly, and the Mingo wee;
Here the Cape Fear's storied waters grandly go to open sea.
Here Contentnea and Trent, pouring into Neuse, find Ocracoke;
Where the herring comes in spring-time are Chowan and broad Roanoke,
North and Newport, Yeopim, Pungo, Pasquotank, and Pamlico,
Pantiego, and queer Perquimans—here the millions come and go.—
Dripping, gurgling, gushing, rushing, tumbling, creeping, so they be,
Carolina's matchless rivers from their fountains to the sea.

By the rice fields and the sand hills run the rivers small and great,
From the mountains to the ocean, of the grand "Palmetto State."
Leaping, hurrying, foaming, splashing, gently, smoothly—then they flow;
Once they find her sunny borders, ne'er across them do they go.
From Savannah bounding southward, to the eastmost Waccamaw;
Past Catawba, where the Indian once untroubled kept his squaw;
Pacolett and brown Saluda, Reedy, rushing Ennoree,

Broad and Tiger, coming southward, seek the turbid still Santee;
Here are murky Winnee, Mingo, sleepy Stono, and a New,
Combahee, and sluggish Wando, and the narrow Ashepoo,
Coosawhatchie, Congaree, Wateree, and small Chehaw;
Circling Charleston, in the Indian Etowan and Wasmasaw;
Eastward flowing only Coosaw; by her islands, Edisto;
Here Salkehatchie and Keowee, and slow Pocotaligo;
By the countless fields of cotton spread the small and great Pedee;
Near the sea sands May is sleeping, southern Broad, and Checkeesee.—
From the rich hills to the barrens, gloomy rivers, small and great,
Run by factory and plantation in the grand "Palmetto State."

Where the orange grows and gladdens, and the summer never sleeps,
Florida in summer stillness all her many rivers keeps:
From Perdido, bordering westward, to St. Mary's eastern flow,
By Suwanee, sung in ditties, winding, creeping, there they go:
Who that e'er has seen them wonders why the Spaniard loved them so!
Where the swan and water-eagle and the bittern make their nest,
Amaxura, Pea, and Charlotte there go crooking to the west.
There end Alaqua, Ocilla, grand old Appalachicola,
Choctawhatchee and Escambia, Ocklockonnee and Chipola.
Where the screeching wild fowl gather, there to dream the night away,
Tawny Indian creeps in stillness into broad expanse of bay.
Here St. John's in peerless grandeur widens from Ocklawaha;
Eastward crawls the gray Opossum, brackish Lemon, and Nassau,
St. Sebastian by Matanzas, and St. Lucie by the sea;
Where Caloosahatchie steals from Okeechobee, Kissinee,
Gallivant, and Young, Caximbas, all go wandering in the south,
There the Shark is throwing open from the glades his watery mouth.—
O'er the sands or reefs here broadening into ocean, gulf, or bay
Where the countless wild fowl gather, there to dream the years away,
From St. John's in all its glory, from Suwanee's gentle flow,
Who that e'er has sailed there wonders why the Spaniard loved them so!

From the mountains on the northward how do Georgia's rivers flow?
How to southern gulf and ocean by her islands do they go?
From the sandy Chattahoochee, from the golden Etowah,
To the smiling grand Savannah, by the grim Allapaha,
From the turbid Ocklockonnee to the crystal Tugaloo,
From Chestatee to Chattooga, Georgia's rivers come and go.
Northward Tennessee, Hiawassee, Notley, and Tocoa pour;
Here's Ulaffie's liquid laughter, here Turoree's toss and roar;
Here leaping, terrible Tullulah; Soquee, rapid Appalachee;
Little, Broad, Alcofauhatchee, Santee, sauntering Aucheehatchee;
Coosawattee with its clatter, Salacoa and Ellijay,
Oostenaula, Connasauga—five in Coosa roll away.
Here Ogeechee, and the Medway, and the dark Santilla creep
Through the barrens, by the cypress, and morasses wide and keep.
Thronateeska flows here southward, and Cannouchee's murky tide;

Here's Ocmulgee, Tallapoosa, and Altamaha the wide;
Ocopilco, and Oconee, and Ocoee, bright and small,
Withlacoochee, and Weelawnee, Chickasaw, and all.—
From the Chattahoochee chattering, to Savannah murmuring low,
Where is heard the Ohoopee, there Georgia's rivers come and go.

Where the Indian, fleeing southward, hard by lake-side foemen pressed,
Found a hunting home in peace, is Alabama—"Here we rest."
Past the Rock and Flint here came he; over sucking, tumbling Tennessee;
From the Warrior, raging darkly, down Cahawba did he flee;
Leaving Elk, Louksahpatilla, seeing Sipsey, crossing Coosa;
Past Tombeckbee, Oaknoxubee; paddling pretty Tallapoosa.
Then in peace he rested, hunted; fished he then in Hillabee,
In Conecuh, Yellow-water, Choctawhatchee, Styx, and Pea;
Crossed the waters fringed with mosses in the glades—Kantappahaw
And Escambia, Fish and Tensaw, Bonsecours and Chickasaw.—
From the border by Perdido, to the westmost Escatappa,
Sailing Mobile in its splendor, fishing, hunting, dreaming, happy,
Here the Indian, fleeing thither, hard by northern foemen pressed,
Found the game and grave forever—Alabama—Here they rest.

All along the west meandering, here, far up, full Mississippi,
Restless monarch, always marvel, from his burdened mossy lip he
Out on live-oak and magnolia bottoms prodigally spills
A Sunflower—once Socktafatoota; Tallahatchee from the hills
Eastward drinks it, with Coldwater; changing into Yazoo where
Yalabusha, Loosascoona seek the flitting "Father" there;
They and Black, and Homochitto, and, from bayou, deep Pierre.
Northward, in the knob-lands, warbling Wolf and Hatchie hie away;
Loitering Leaf, Fox, Buckatunna, in the far south find the bay;
Pascagoula, Chickasawha, with the Tullahoma blending,
And Boughhomo, slowly southward, darkened currents here are sending;
O'er east borders Escatappa and Oktibbeha here break;
Here Noxubee, Buttahatchie, Wolkee, part of Mobile make;
Tangapahoa, Pearl and Tipsaw, Strong and Amite, meet in lake.—
Sombre waters, sombre borders, where the languid saurian dwells,
'Neath the live-oak's mossy mantle in the grand magnolia dells.

From the Pearl to Sabine westward, by plantation and savanna
And her rice-land, gulfward, ebb the rivers of Louisiana.
Here's Chifuncte and here's Bogue Chitto, Sara with her cypress stain,
Tangapahoa, Amite, Tickfaw, Comite—all to Ponchartrain;
Here the Grand, Lafourche the sluggard, Terre Bonne with spreading bayou;
Teche and Crocodile here crawling on to red Atchafalaya;
Creeping through the dikèd cane-land goes Vermilion to the bay;
Further westward, still and lonely, Mermenteau and Calcasieu;
From the far northwestern border, through its yielding ochery bed,
Rio Roxo brings its driftwood wonder, fitly named the Red—
Saline, Black Lake, Cane, and Bodcau—by their currents filled and fed;

Southward, washing through the loamy vales of fertile Arkansas,
With Bartholomew and Tensas, and the Bœuf, is Ouachita;
Here "the Father" Mississippi, half a hundred fathoms deep;
In his plash a hundred rivers still their fretful murmurs keep,
In his mighty bosom nestling twice a thousand brooklets sleep;
Gathered here the countless waters, half of all a continent,
Seething, like a serpent writhing, all in awful volume blent.—
From the Black Hills and the lake lands, from the western snow and gold lands,
From the Appalachian summits, and the eastern oil and coal lands,
Past a hundred crowded cities, through the lonely forest hush;
Fled from fearful height and bowlder, and the frothing cascades' rush,
By the cot and painted palace, from the wigwam of the savage,
Through the peaceful southern bayou, from the western floods and ravage,
Gathered in this Father bosom—artery of the continent—
Seething, like a serpent writhing, all in awful grandeur blent.

Where the hot Gulf ne'er at rest is, tossing white-caps o'er its green,
Coursing 'twixt the Rio Grande and the Red and bronze Sabine,
Drag the dreamy Texas rivers: Neches first, with Angeline;
Then from northern sand and wax-land Trinity through forest flows;
Next historic San Jacinto, where the star of Houston rose;
From the wavy mesquite prairie, where the wild-dog builds his town,
Brazos comes, with Navasota, Bosque in the bottoms brown,
And Paloxy, Gabriel, Noland, and Keetumsee trickling down,
From the Llano Estacado, through the barren mountain shadow,
Over sandstone, granite, marble, to perennial blooming meadow,
Past the cedar brake and highland, always grand, is Colorado;
In her current mixing Concho, Llano, stony Perdinales,
And San Saba from the sand wilds, and Pecan from nutty valleys.
Next, with Navadad, Lavaca; then the purple Gaudaloupe,
Where there rung in war-time deadly savage Santa Anna's whoop,
Where blend Blanco, and San Marcos through its mossy stone bed run,
And the Comal glittering brightly, like 'twere dew-drops in the sun.
'Mid her ancient city springing, San Antonio darts away,
With Cibolo and Medina, full of mosses, to the bay.
Mission and Aransas, Neuces with the Frio, Hondo deep,
And Leona and San Miguel, sickly sluggards, wind and creep,
Where the cactus spreads in splendor and coyotes revels keep.
To Del Norte purls the Pecos, from where yet the savage paints,
Scalping cow-boys, and San Pedro—he and various other saints.
Eastward is the gloomy Cypress; snail-like Sulphur's in the pines;
And Attoyac 'mid cotton-woods there his southern bride he finds.
Eastward Keecheeahquehono and the Wichitas are whirled;
And the long and red Canadian, like a pennon, is unfurled
In the north land, from the red man's war camps in the sunset world.

Tennessee—how were her rivers in the mellow Indian tongue?
What syllabic rhythm had they ere the white man's changes rung?
Wasioto and Shewannee—thus the Cumberland was known—

With Red, Canee, Rocky, Obee, Harpeth, Sulphur, New, and Stone.
Holston once was Hogohegee; and from mouth of French Broad down
(Which was then the Tahkeeostah), Cootcla thence to Chota town—
It an Indian "refuge city," true in honor and renown—
Where there emptied in Tanisse, now the Little Tennessee.
Then began great Kallamuchee, Chelaque in Cherokee.
Once Hiawassee was Euphassie, with the brawling small Chestoe,
Estinaula, "where they rested," and Amoee, or Ocoee.
Through Chilhowee comes the Little, once the red man's swift Canoe;
Where the wingless Pigeon flutters, there the Agaqua they knew;
Where there fell from high Unaka Salaqua is Tellico;
Where was Nonachuckee, "dangerous," simply Chucky now we know.
Thundering through the Alleghanee with the Doe is yet Watauga;
Out and in, with Georgia pranking, straight to gulf goes Connasauga;
Out, but never more returning, "Stream of Death" is Chickamauga.
Down through Alabama rattling, Rock and Flint and Elk they go—
White man's rivers—they and Sandy, Whiteoak, Beech, Duck, Buffalo.
But Sequatchie keeps her beauty from the vandal changes free;
Obed, and the ancient Daddee, still run on to Emmoree.
Where is now the Clinch with Powell, once they had the Pellissippi.
Chucagua and Mechesepe—these were names for Mississippi.
Thither going Nona Conna, Loosahatchie, Forked Deer,
Wolf, Obion with its Reelfoot, and Big Hatchie lapsing there.
By these waters fought the Shawnee, Uchee, Choctaw, Cherokee,
Chickasaw and Chickamauga, and the Creek, or Muscogee.
Dead are now the scalping warriors! But the music of the river,
And the sweet syllabic rhythm of its name, shall live forever.

◇ ◇ ◇

Troy! and that Troy has a mount Ida!! The names of places in this country are truly astonishing. Troy, Syracuse, and Rome are pretty well in this way, but the state of New York alone, I believe, boasts of a Manlius, a Homer, a Virgil, an Ovid, a Cicero, and a Socrates, whose second appearance in this world is in all the glories of flaming red bricks, new boards and white paint.

—Frances Anne Butler, 1835.

Port Tobacco.—A geographical name of considerable interest by reason of its corruption is that of Port Tobacco, a town in Charles County, Maryland. It took its name from *Potopaco,* a Conoy Indian village, meaning cove or bay. The settlement is noted by Strachey in his *Historie of Travelle into Virginia Britannia,* 1612, and appears on the map of Captain John Smith, 1629, as well as in varied forms in other early sources. The name, of course, has nothing to do with either a port or tobacco.

FWH

Fremont, Ohio.—The original name of Fremont was Lower Sandusky, founded at the close of the War of 1812 and enlarged in 1822 to include the town of Croghansville on the opposite bank of the Sandusky River. By the latter 1840's business houses in this part of Ohio were handicapped because of the confusion in names of towns in the vicinity: Sandusky City, Upper Sandusky, and Little Sandusky were all important places, and mail and express were constantly being misdirected.

Led by Sardis Birchard, a pioneer merchant and uncle of Rutherford B. Hayes, the businessmen in Lower Sandusky appointed young Hayes to petition the Court for a change of name for the town. He was asked to investigate and suggest a new name. In recollecting the incident many years later Hayes wrote to the historian Henry Howe on January 22, 1889: "Next to an Indian name our *hero* should have been called to mind in our name viz. Croghan. But it was *then pronounced* uniformly, *Krawn.* Nobody hearing it could spell it, and no one seeing it spelled could pronounce it. Hence we took refuge in the *then* romantic and *non-partisan* name, Fremont."

It seems to me that this incident as recorded by Hayes is of interest, first, because of the fact that in the renaming of the town the selection of Fremont came not because of any association of his with the vicinity but simply because he was something of an

American military hero at the time. In the second place, it is interesting to have this phonetic spelling of Croghan. Croghansville had been named for Major George Croghan (1791–1849), the hero in the defense of Fort Stephenson, on the site of Fremont, on August 2, 1813, against the British. So far as I know, this Irish name is usually pronounced "Crone" by historians but the pronunciation which Hayes gives as of the middle of the nineteenth century was most likely perpetuated by word of mouth from the eighteenth century.

LESTER J. CAPPON

Florence, Colorado.—Silvery haired Mrs. Minnie Florence Collins recently celebrated her 83rd birthday here. Mrs. Collins is the daughter of the late Senator James A. McCandlass, pioneer of Colorado, who was head of a land development company bearing his name in the 1870's. A competent surveyor had been engaged to plot a town on the McCandlass property, and having completed his work queried as to what the name might be. McCandlass frankly admitted he had not given so important a matter any serious thought. Little Minnie Florence had been trudging along with her father and the surveyor. The surveyor having taken quite a fancy to the tot suggested naming the town in honor of McCandlass' little daughter, and the parent was much pleased with the idea. Her middle name "Florence" was considered most appropriate and so it remains the name of the town to this day.

RALPH EMERSON WOODS

The Moral Insurance Company of Tulsa, Oklahoma, seems to indicate by its very name high ethical standards. However, the origin of the name has nothing to do with morals in business. The name was coined from the names of the owners who started the company years ago: *Mor*ton and *Al*bert.

News, Comments, Queries

Cattle Nomenclature.—Miss Hall's article, "Cattle Nomenclature and Genealogy," suggests that in cattle names there is a fruitful and interesting field of investigation.

Who has not been intrigued by the exotic names of such cattle as Sir Dutchland Colantha Denver, the first Holstein-Friesian Gold Medal Sire in Michigan; Serradella Dutch Duke, his son; and Queen Pietertje Mink DeKol, in her time the oldest Holstein-Friesian cow still in milk at 34 years of age? They were known to their handlers as Dutch, Duke, and Queen.

The elements in Holstein-Friesian names will, I believe, fall into four classes: the names of the imported foundation stock; the names of important blood lines; what might be called vanity names, the names of farms and breeders; and arbitrary names. They may, and frequently do, all occur in the name of a single animal. To a large extent the classes merge into one another, as you might expect. The general appearance of a name element does not necessarily indicate its class.

It would be interesting to observe in what manner and to what extent current Holstein-Friesian names have diverged from the original Dutch names of the imports. A casual reading of the Bay City (Mich.) *Times* seems to indicate that, in this part of Michigan at least, the Dutch elements are dying out and are being replaced with colorless English forms. An unfortunate development if true. Perhaps, in the course of time, new blood-lines have developed which have crowded out the old names as less important in establishing the salability of an animal.

The names of the breeds are another fertile field. Shorthorn, for example, seems at one time to have been the American name for any short-horned British cattle, including such breeds as the Ayrshire and Jersey. The breed we now call the Shorthorns was first known to both the British and Americans as the Durhams (and here is the source of a tobacco brand name) from the section of England where they were originally developed in the eighteenth

century. An article in *Johnson's New General Encyclopaedia,* published in 1885 at New York City, speaks of the breed as "Shorthorn or Durham." Now they are Shorthorns on both sides of the water with a slight difference in nomenclature between the Milking (U.S.) Shorthorns and Dairy (Brit.) Shorthorns.

The Channel Islands cattle were originally known as the Alderneys. Now they are the Jerseys and Guernseys.

I seem to recall that the Holstein-Friesians were once known by a different name—Dutch Polder Cattle or something of the sort. I wonder, too, if they have an established name in the British Isles. An Englishman writing about British cattle in *Encyclopaedia* Britannica calls them Holstein-Friesians but a similar article in the *Americana* calls them English Friesians.

The newest breed of dairy cattle to be established here is the American Red Danish. I am informed that in Denmark they are called The Red Milk Race.

I present these scattered and somewhat speculative notes in the hope that they will stimulate some further research in cattle nomenclature.

R. D. Roberts

The Field Study of Place—the title of an excellent monograph written by our member Dr. A. J. Wraight and published by the University Press of Washington, D.C. The book is a practical guide intended for surveyers and topographers. While it is not concerned with geographical nomenclature directly it goes without saying that names play an important part in any form of land surveying. In connection with this Dr. Wraight makes the following significant statement: "Of vital importance in checking with local residents is the matter of geographic names. If a map of the area is to be made later the geographic names should be as correct as possible, since this often casts reflection on the entire study. All names should be checked as to correctness in application and form. At least three local residents should agree on each name, and, in the case of conflict, local informants should be consulted until one name stands out as preferred. Previously unpublished names should be sought, checked and used. These additions often add considerable value to the study."

Names in South Carolina.—The second issue of the first volume of this new periodical has just been issued. For those who believe that only the American West has interesting and challenging names, it will be a surprise to glance through this issue and notice the many names of interesting or even mysterious origin and meaning. Our member Claude F. Neuffer is editor, and Dean Francis W. Bradley, one of the newly elected members of our Board of Managers, is a contributing editor. *Names* again recommends highly this informal but very efficient way of building up a dictionary of place names of a certain state. Let us hope that many other departments of English, geography, history, or linguistics will follow the example of the University of South Carolina.

Fremont's Topographer.—Erwin G. Gudde is currently engaged in translating and editing the diaries of Charles Preuss, who accompanied Fremont on his first, second, and fourth western explorations as topographer and artist. The name of Preuss is intimately connected with the establishment of numerous names between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. His three maps of 1845, 1846, and 1848 are the first maps of the Mountain and Pacific states which are based on modern principles of topography and cartography. In addition to recording and thus making permanent many names which had been used by Indians, traders, or trappers, Preuss labeled on these maps some of the great features like Great Basin, Golden Gate, Humboldt River, Pyramid Lake, Fremonts Peak, Mojave River.

Namelore in Latin America.—In Jack Autrey Dabbs article in the December, 1954 issue of *Names,* the following misprints occurred and should be corrected:

Item 93. *Scumario* should be *Sumario.*
Item 94. *Guaranía* should be *Guarania.*
Item 94. *Guentes* should be *Fuentes.*
Item 102. *Geográficas* should be *Geográficos.*
Item 105. *Filologia* should be *Filologia.*
Item 114. *Chapter VIII* should be *Chapter VII* the first time.
Item 163. *Históreia* should be *Histórica.*
Item 179. *70 p.* should be *p. 70.*
Item 181. *Filiológicos* should be *Filológicos.*

Item 218. *Toponimina* should be *Toponimia.*
Guatemaltca should be *Guatemalteca.*
Item 223. *Augilar* should be *Aguilar.*
Item 233. Vol IX, page *396* should be page 296.
Item 243. *Cortéz* should be *Cortés.*

A Guide to the Place Names of Kentucky.—Basic to all studies which work with various facets of the physical and cultural landscape is the gazetteer. Such studies can range from a sportsman's search for a choice fishing hole to the highly detailed studies required for the selection of industrial plant sites. In each instance the study would be aided if there were available a comprehensive, state-wide gazetteer.

With a firm belief in the need, two years experience in gazettering, the approval of the university administration and the good wishes of interested public and private agencies the Department of Geography of the University of Kentucky began the compilation of a "large scale" gazetteer of the state of Kentucky in May, 1954. Preliminary estimates placed the number of Kentucky place names at 40,000. As of this date, about two-thirds of the estimated total are in the form of file cards.

This work is an attempt to provide basic materials of a comprehensive and useful nature. All studies which involve place names require a gazetteer. Also, the "large scale" gazetteer appears to be potentially useful to the public at large. The greatest problem is that of educating the public toward the realization that a useful reference volume is at their disposal.

T. P. Field

Grand Tour of Europe.—For the fourth consecutive year our charter member Gerard L. Alexander, of the map division of the New York Public Library, will conduct a tour from June 24 to August 16, which will touch practically all countries of Western Europe including Liechtenstein, San Marino, and Monaco. The tour is arranged by the American Travel Company, 11 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N.Y.

Another Oscar.—"Mehitabel" is the name of the annual award to a fashion "careerist." In 1954 it was awarded to Mrs. Mary Szur Barker, dress buyer for Sears Roebuck. Mehitabel is a golden statuette representing a young girl sitting on the top rung of the ladder of success.

M. M.

Ukrainian Botanical Terminology.—In No. 9 of the series *Onomastica,* edited by J. B. Rudnyckyj, M. Borovskyj has compiled data from botanical and scientific literature concerning plants which constitute the flora of Ukraine, and which, in the international nomenclature of plants, bear as the names of their species the name of Ukraine, or the names of Ukrainian regions, provinces, towns, mountains, rivers, sea, steppe etc. In addition to this he has included the plants which bear the names of primeval inhabitants of Ukraine, 1000 years before our era—Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians, who, according to Herodotus, were the ancestors of Ukrainian people. He has also added those plants which have the name "Ruthene"—old name for Ukrainians.

French Linguistic Atlas.—The first volume of the *Atlas Linguistique et Ethnologique de la Gascogne,* by Jean Séguy, published by the Institut d'Etudes Méridionales de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Toulouse, contains 219 maps (in portfolio, 49 × 32 cm.) devoted to the study of words in the following classes: animals, plants, and folklore. It is part of the series, *Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de la France,* which is being prepared under the direction of Albert Dauzat.

Congress at Salamanca.—The representative of the *ANS* at the Fifth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences to be held at Salamanca, Spain, April 12–15th, 1955, will be Lewis Heck, chief geographer of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. He will read a paper on the name "California", based chiefly on the map of the American continent recently published by the *Servicios Geografico e Historico del Ejercito, Estado Mayor Central Madrid.* Our charter member, Alfred Senn of the University of Pennsylvania will read a paper entitled "A Slavic and Baltic Type of Toponyme". Our charter member, Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnyckyj, will represent Canada at the Congress. Our members Albert Carnoy, Henry Draye, and Karel Roelandts will also be present. Two other participants from the United States, not members of the A.N.S., are listed in the Second Circular of the Congress: E. Bagby Atwood and Juan Coroninas.

Book Reviews

Street-Names of the City of London. By Eilert Ekwall. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1954, pp. xvi + 209, map. $2.40 at Oxford University Press, New York, N.Y.)

This scholarly work by the author of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* is divided into two parts. First there is an introductory essay of sixty-seven pages explaining the problems involved in tracing the origin and the modification of the names applied to the streets of Old London, those established before 1500. This is followed by a dictionary of these names in which Professor Ekwall amply documents his conclusions concerning their history and morphology. In the Introduction, Professor Ekwall also provides an extensive bibliography and traces the contribution made by previous works in this field, praising Henry A. Harben's *Dictionary of London* (1918) as "the most important contribution to the topography and history of London." But Harben's book is out-of-print; and Professor Ekwall's little volume is further justified by the fact that he has discovered material that enables him to supplement and to correct a number of Harben's conclusions.

One of the great values of the present work is Professor Ekwall's discussion of the principles of name-giving, well-illustrated in the organization of his dictionary and in the materials which he includes in the history of various street-names. First, he classifies the names: those in -street, in -lane, in -row, in -alley, in -hill, and those without such a designation. Then he subdivides, grouping compound names according to their first element: those in singular or plural form, those with or without a genitive -s, and those with the element derived from external characteristics, from some article or commodity produced or offered for sale, as in *Milk Street,* from their situation, as in *Thames Street,* from City gates, from various buildings or structures, from crosses, and from markets, as in *Cheapside,* from a surname, from some other kind of personal description, as in *Chancery Lane,* originally *Chancellor Lane,* from the name of an animal, as in *Huggin Lane, Hoggeslane* in 1234–5,

from an object or a place name, as in *Spittle Lane,* probably from a hospital in the lane, from inns or taverns, from churches, or from some activity carried on nearby.

In the dictionary sections some four hundred terms, located by ward, are traced through public documents, such as charters, abstracts, and court rolls, church registers, letters and manuscripts of monarchs, royalty and commoners, diaries, memorials, and other such contemporary sources, as well as the books of Professor Ekwall's forerunners in this field of study. Such an abundance of material for research, much of it in existence before Columbus discovered America, makes for interesting documentation as to names used, but leaves still undecided the origins of many. For example, the name *Threadneedle Street* was by some commentators derived "from a sign-board with three needles on it or from the arms of the needlemakers' company, which are stated to have borne three needles (Harben). But it is unlikely that the name should not be connected with that of the children's game *threadneedle* . . . The broad Threadneedle Street may have been found particularly suitable for the game." It is evident that in many cases the origins can never be accurately determined.

Changes in the form of the name can, however, be traced: for example, *Lombard Street,* from *Longebrod* (1252), *Langburnestrade* (1285), *Langebournestrete* (1312), *Lombardstrete* (from 1318). Professor Ekwall comments: "The original *Langebordstrete* meant 'the street leading to Langebord.' . . . The name contains the words *long* and *board* (OE *bord*). . . . A possible meaning would be 'the long table(s),' referring to some stall(s) to place wares on." *Finch Lane* was once *Finkeslane* (1231–45), "the alternative *Finch* being at first a Norman spelling with *ch* for *k.*" And *Fetter Lane* was originally called *Faytuneslane* (1292), probably derived from the ME *faitor,* meaning 'vagrant' or 'cheat.' Such glimpses of life in Old London are abundant in Professor Ekwall's study of the history of early street names.

LEVETTE J. DAVIDSON

Theory of Names. By Ernst Pulgram. (Pp. 49. American Name Society, Berkeley, California, 1954. First published in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung,* Vol. V, no. 2.)

Ernst Pulgram concludes his monograph on the theory of names by proposing a definition:

I therefore submit the following definition (in terms of function, not of form) for proper name: A proper name is a noun used κατ ἐξσχήν, in a non-universal function, with or without recognizable current lexical value, of which the potential meaning coincides with and never exceeds its actual meaning, and which is attached as a label to one animate being or one inanimate object (or to more than one in the case of collective names) for the purpose of specific distinction from among a number of like or in some respects similar beings or objects that are either in no manner distinguished from one another or, for our interest, not sufficiently distinguished.

Since the purpose of the entire monograph is to define the term "proper name," a description of some of the methods used to arrive at this somewhat complicated definition is in order.

After establishing, by means of examples, that "the giving and bearing of names" are universally accepted and indicate a "common need" among human beings, Pulgram argues, on philosophic grounds, that "the act of naming must have been among the most ancient speech performances," and that since a name can fulfill the task of "linguistic communication" as described by Bloomfield, "a grammatical distinction between noun and name is not legitimate."

After a considerable examination of the various categories of meanings into which proper names fall in various languages, he concludes that "not only name-bearing, but also namebuilding is a universal human practice, with the same elementary rules everywhere." Furthermore, he has found that "all proper names, regardless of their historical form, are to be derived from common nouns," although the dictionary value may have been obscured by time. It follows, therefore, that "noun" and "name" are one and that "the disparity that is commonly felt to exist between them is one probduced by usage or performance."

Pulgram then turns his attention to pinpointing the distinction between proper name and common noun. He rejects as unfruitful the etymological study of the word "name" or ὄνομα for a basic meaning, because the Indo-European root has not been determined, and attacks the problem philosophically. He cites J. S. Mill to the effect that a common noun may be "truly affirmed, in the same sense, of an indefinite number of things," while a proper name "is only capable of being truly affirmed, in the same sense, of one thing." With this the author agrees, but he takes issue with Mill when the latter will allow no connotative value to a proper name.

Pulgram shows that a proper name new to the hearer is no more devoid of meaning than a common noun new to a hearer, and that names have varying degrees of connotative value dependent upon their familiarity to the user. It is when the connotative value of a name grows very great, and the denotative value is forgotten, that a name becomes a common noun. The change of name to noun Pulgram calls "an increase of extensive and a decrease of intensive meaning," and one has only to reverse the formula for the change from noun to name. In a language of which every speaker had perfect knowledge, everything would have a specific name; "every noun would be one par excellence." Since we do not possess perfect knowledge and must lump similar things into categories, we have developed "general terms" and "universals," that is, common nouns.

Common nouns, by their very nature, contain more meaning than one usually desires to express in a particular context, and a modifier is required to narrow and confine the word to its desired function. A proper name, however, can have no more meaning than it possesses in itself and can require no modifier to limit its meaning. When it begins to mean more than a particular person or thing, it is on the way to becoming a noun.

Pulgram, before summing up in the definition which begins this review, defends his philosophical definition by maintaining that the problems of naming are extra-linguistic, and that, although linguistic and grammatical methods are appropriate for separate languages, the problem of names is one of "phonemes, morphemes," and the like which "appear in every language," and "should be regarded as general characteristics of human speech and of mankind."

Stanford University LLOYD L. DEWITT

Marlborough Place Names. By H. A. H. Insull. (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1952. Pp. 73. 10/6.)

The shortcomings of this book are revealed in the preface: it is a reprinting of a series of articles published during 1951 in *The Marlborough Express,* and it is incomplete. To his readers, presumably in New Zealand, the author writes: "I shall be happy to learn of any origins, history or meanings of any of these names whose as-

sociations I have not yet been able to track down." And his unfamiliarity with Maori has led him to repeat what others have said of names derived from that language or to omit them altogether. It is reasonable to suggest, then, that more time should have elapsed between the first printing of this material and its publication in book form, for then correspondents might have added to Mr. Insull's store of information, the author himself would have had an opportunity to rework his study, and perhaps a student of Maori could have been enlisted as a collaborator.

Four so-called chapters, each about three pages in length, precede the alphabetical list of names: "Maori Names," where the difficulties of the student of New Zealand place-names are apparent from the citation of the name *Pare-ora,* the first element of which bears ten different meanings while the second may be translated in eight different ways; "Discovery of the Sounds," which deals with the period from Captain Cook's first visit in 1770 to 1854; "The Early Whalers," who commenced their activities in 1827; and "The First Settlers," who date from 1847–50. Each of these chapters needs more extended treatment, for Mr. Insull assumes a background of reference that his readers in other parts of the world do not possess and can acquire only with great difficulty.

The list of names is interesting, not only to the onomatologist but to the student of history and legend as well. While it is true that the introductory pages touch briefly on place-names given by the Maori, the early explorers, the first whalers, and the early settlers of the Province of Marlborough, the book would gain considerably from a summarizing chapter that attempted a classification of the material according to the examples of F. G. Cassidy *(The Place-Names of Dane County, Wisconsin)* and R. L. Ramsay *(Our Storehouse of Missouri Place-Names)* or the suggestions of G. R. Stewart *(Names,* II, 1–13.

An addition to the ranks of place-name students is, of course, always to be welcomed, and information about the names of a remote English-speaking land is good to have. One is grateful, too, for the two maps and the fourteen photographs, as well as for the bibliograhpy of Marlborough, an appendix that includes more than fifty items.

Henry Bosley Woolf

Louisiana State University

American Ways of Life. By George R. Stewart. New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954. pp. 310. $3.95.

Those who have read an anthropologist's description of the ways of life of a primitive tribe may sometimes wonder just how American habits and customs would be described. Professor George R. Stewart, one of our most active members, has given us just such a description.

To many of us who fail to see the forest for the trees here is the opportunity to note just where Americans really differ from their forbears in the old world. Perhaps one of the most surprising statements is the author's assertion that the national drink of America is water. A little reflection, coupled with a recollection of how difficult it is to obtain water with one's meals in European countries, emphasizes the truth of this observation.

Two chapters are allocated to the discussion of food in America, plus one on drink; the language, religion, clothing, shelter, sex, play, holidays, and arts of the Americans are discussed in separate chapters, all with careful consideration of the relative influence of environment and heredity on each of these distinctive aspects of American life.

Although all the subjects covered in Professor Stewart's book are presented in an entertaining manner, readers of *Names* will probably turn first to the chapter entitled, "Personal Names." This is a brief survey of Christian names, middle names and family names in America from colonial days down to the present time. The author observes that in our naming habits, as in so much else, we inherit the English tradition. The two large groups who have taken surnames in America are the Indians and the Negroes. The names of the former, he finds, are distinctive while those of the latter are much like those of the Whites.

ELSDON C. SMITH

The Phrase Finder. Compiled by J. I. Rodale with the collaboration of Edward J. Fluck. (Emmaus, Pennsylvania: Rodale Press. 1953. Pp. 1325. $6.95.)

This reference book is really three books in one: Name-Word Finder, Metaphor Finder and Sophisticated Synonyms. The first part occupies the bulk of the work and consists of an Index of Key

Words covering 306 pages which leads one to a Dictionary of Names of 572 pages, and is the only part covered by this review.

The Index sets up a list of words and refers the worker to entries in the Dictionary of Names notable in that respect. Under the key word *hangman,* for example, is reference to Jack Ketch. The Dictionary of Names then gives the researcher a brief sketch of that worthy with special attention to his work.

In short, this is an imperfect thesaurus for the speaker and writer which tends to produce a name which will illustrate the quality or attribute that the user has in mind. Thus a liar might be called a Sapphira, Ananias or Baron Munchausen; helpfulness might be called Franklinian or referred in some way to David Harum, among other names. Many of the names are so little known generally that their use would only tend to confuse, but the idea is an excellent one. The collaborator reminds the user that such name-calling must be applied sparingly by the writer if he would make it most effective—sage advice.

ELSDON C. SMITH

Imported Varieties of Dates in the United States. By Roy W. Nixon. (Washington, 1950.) United States Department of Agriculture Circular No. 834.

This is the most complete listing of date varieties to be found in one volume since Paul B. Popenoe's *Date Growing in the Old World and the New,* Altadena, 1913. These two publications refer to articles and monographs by Dowson (Iraq), Brown and Bahgat (Egypt), Chevalier (French Sahara), Kearney (Tunisia), Mason (Egypt and the Sudan), Milne (the Punjab), Fairchild (Iran), Swingle (Algeria), and others, which altogether account for all of the significant varieties of dates in the world. Most of the names are of Arabic origin, although there is a scattering of Berber, Persian, Punjabi, and English names.

DONALD D. BRAND

In Memoriam

The death of our charter member Arthur Garfield Kennedy on April 21, 1954, brought a deep feeling of loss to his colleagues at Stanford University and to his numerous friends elsewhere.

Born in Weeping Water, Nebraska, on June 29, 1880, he received the A.B. degree from Doane College, Nebraska, in 1902, a college which in 1933 conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. He completed his work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Stanford in 1914, and was connected with this institution until his death.

In 1911, even before completing his graduate work, Professor Kennedy had published, in collaboration with James C. Lindberg, an English grammar for secondary schools, and he wrote also on English spelling and German and Latin grammar. His Stanford dissertation, *The Pronoun of Address in English Literature of the Thirteenth Century,* appeared in print in 1915. Professor Kennedy's dedicated quest for all that was known about the English language and the earlier vernacular literature led naturally to his later authoritative publications on various linguistic subjects, his *Concordance to the Complete Works of Chaucer,* with J. S. P. Tatlock, his textbooks on Anglo-Saxon and on current English, and also to his two indispensable bibliographies, the monumental *Bibliography of the Writings on the English Language* (Harvard University Press and Yale University Press, 1927), and *A Concise Bibliography for Students of English* (Stanford University Press, 1940), the latter of which was recently issued in its third edition.

But these bibliographies were only carefully selected extracts from the extensive and meticulously organized bibliographical files which, despite the press of classroom work and administrative duties, Professor Kennedy maintained in current status for many years. As a result of his unexampled fund of exact information, he was sought out by dictionary editors and linguistic scholars the world over. He was a member of the original editorial panel of *American Speech,* along with Louise Pound and Kemp Malone, and conducted the bibliographical section of that important journal for twenty years. He was also a consultant for the Thorndike dictionary, and in 1930 he was urged to assume the editorship of the *Middle English Dictionary,* a project which is now going forward at the University of Michigan.

Robert W. Ackerman

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF *ANS*

The annual dinner meeting of the American Name Society was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City on Sunday evening, December 26, 1954. Professor W. Cabell Greet, in that charming and captivating manner of his, gave a most interesting and delightful talk on "A Local Habitation and a Name." At a meeting of the officers, managers and editorial board just before the dinner meeting the problems of the Society were discussed.

At the annual meeting of members held on Tuesday afternoon, December 28, 1954, at the Hotel Statler, in New York City, the papers listed in the December, 1954, issue of *Names* were presented. In addition, O. Paul Straubinger of the University of California at Riverside, presented a paper entitled, "Personal Names in Popular Sayings."

The results of the mail ballot were read by Sterling A. Stoudemire, the chairman of the Nominating Committee. The following were elected:

President	Meredith F. Burrill
First Vice-President	Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Second Vice-President	Kemp Malone
Third Vice-President	George R. Stewart
Executive Secretary and Editor	Erwin G. Gudde
Treasurer	Henry Karpenstein
Board of Managers	*For three years*
For two years	Francis W. Bradley
William Saroyan	John P. Harrington
Editorial Board	
Madison S. Beeler	Margaret M. Bryant
Demetrius J. Georgacas	Mamie J. Meredith
H. F. Raup	Elsdon C. Smith

In the absence of Henry Karpenstein, Kemp Malone read the Treasurer's report, and, upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, it was approved and ordered filed. Professor Malone also read a brief report from the Executive Secretary and Editor, Erwin G. Gudde, and upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, it was approved and ordered filed. Elsdon C. Smith, the outgoing president, made a brief report outlining the progress of the Society.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1954

INCOME

Balance carried forward from 1953	$ 175.71
Dues collected in 1954	2,572.25
Sale of copies of the Journal "NAMES"	19.75
Sale of reprints from the Journal "NAMES"	5.00
Sale of advertisements in the Journal "NAMES"	65.00
Sale of "Theory of Names"	10.00
Gifts received from C. M. Goethe ($100 for the Mary Glide Goethe annual prize)	160.00
Refund from the U.S. Post Office	14.25
	$3,021.96

EXPENDITURES

For Mimeographing, Multilithing, Paper, Envelopes, Typing, Clerical work, Postage, Stencils, Mailing Room Charges, Invoices and Bank Service Charges	$ 424.62
Printing of 4 issues of the Journal "NAMES"	1,931.30
Copyright for 3 Issues of the Journal "NAMES"	12.00
Post Office Mailing Permit and Rubber Stamp	27.66
Binding of 10 Volumes of the Journal "NAMES"	22.66
300 Copies of Pulgram's: "Theory of Names"	80.00
Refund to the American News Company	10.00
	$2,508.24

Income for 1954	$3,021.96
Expenditures for 1954	2,508.24
	$ 513.72

NOTE: The Regents' of the University of California subsidy of $1000 is not included in the above items of income for 1954 since this amount was deducted by the University of California Press from the bills of the Press for the printing of the Journal "NAMES" during the year 1954.

Respectfully submitted,
HENRY KARPENSTEIN, *Treasurer*
December 15, 1954.

Approved, December 16, 1954,
C. D. CHRÉTIEN
MARILYN E. MCGREGOR
Auditing Committee

The first regional meeting of the ANS was a dinner arranged by the members of Central California on the evening of December 27th, 1954, at the Faculty Club of the University of California in Berkeley. The principal speaker of the evening was our president-elect, Meredith F. Burrill. He delivered an extremely interesting lecture on generic geographical names. Toastmaster was our charter member, Francis P. Farquhar, former president of the California Academy of Sciences and of the Sierra Club.

Names to be indexed in International Index.—By a vote of the subscribing libraries to the *International Index of Periodicals, Names* will be included in this index, beginning with the present issue. Published since 1907 by H. W. Wilson Co., 950 University Avenue, New York 52, N.Y., this reference periodical indexes the contents of the leading American scholastic, humanistic, literary, and educational journals, as well as a number of the important foreign periodicals. Our active members who are making an effort to interest their libraries in subscribing to *Names* will do well to mention this fact to reference librarians.

The Mary Glide Goethe Prize.—The Editorial Board voted to award the prize for 1954 to James E. Alatis for his two essays, "The Etymology of Greek Names" and "The Americanization of Greek Names." The two articles are the substance of a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, prepared by Mr. Alatis at Ohio State University under the direction of Professor Francis L. Utley, one of our sponsors and charter members. Both articles will be published in *Names* in 1955. An announcement of the rules for the Mary Glide Goethe Prize for 1955 will be published in the June issue of our journal.

New Officers.—The three new members elected to the Board of Managers represent three areas of American culture: Francis W. Bradley, for many years professor of English and Dean at the University of South Carolina, more recently a contributing editor to *South Carolina Place Names;* John Harrington, former senior ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution and well known for his contributions to linguistic studies of the American Indian; William Saroyan, the poet and writer, whose natural interest lies in the use and selection of names in literature.

Our retiring president.—The members of the ANS regretted the decision of Elsdon C. Smith not to be a candidate for the office of president in 1955. The formation of an American society devoted to the study of names was originally his idea, and for three years he worked hard and persistently to make the new society a success. We are pleased that he will continue his active interest in the society by acting as its attorney and as a member of the Editorial Board of *Names.* We also know that he will continue his research in onomatology and we shall expect many more valuable contributions from his pen.

E.G.G.

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Editor's Page

The first issue of the third volume of *Names* offers a cross section of onomatogical material in which the *ANS* and its journal are interested. It will be the policy of the Editorial Committee to continue to offer as great a variety of articles in name research as possible.

Allen B. Kellogg's contributions will start, we hope, a series of investigations into the use of names for characters in literature. For students of literature a wide and virgin field of research is thereby opened. Mr. Kellogg is professor of English at Indiana, at present engaged in special research at the Huntington Library.

Mr. Sopher's article on Arabic place names in Spain is a contribution to one of the most fruitful fields in onomastics: the tracing of a past culture on the basis of geographical names. Mr. Sopher, who took his Ph.D. under the direction of our charter member Professor John Leighly, is now on the staff of the American Geographical Society.

William E. Mockler, who offers a solution of the origin of the typical American term Ku Klux, is a member of the faculty of the University of West Virginia.

The article on Acteon's dogs gives us an idea of the importance of the nomenclature of man's faithful four-legged friends in literature. (See December issue, p. 233). Dr. Starnes is on the faculty of the University of Texas.

W. L. McAtee, R. D. Roberts, and Levette Davidson are already well known to our readers. Lillian B. Lawler of Hunter College, Henry B. Woolf of Louisiana State University, Lloyd DeWitt of Stanford University, and L. F. Hawley are welcome new contributors to *Names*.

M. V. Moore's poem on the rivers of the south is no contribution to the science of onomastics. Yet, many of our readers will be pleased by this late product of Romantic poetry, binding the colorful names of the rivers by almost flawless iambic octometers. The poem appeared first in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of February, 1883, and was submitted by our charter member, Lewis Heck.

The cartoon on p. 35 is reproduced with the permission of Field Enterprises, Inc.

Under the item *Soyuzivka* in the December 1954 issue ("Names in Brief") the name of the author, Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, was inadvertently omitted.

AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY

Founded Detroit, Michigan, December 29th, 1951

Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Illinois, 1952

The purposes of the American Name Society are:

The study of the etymology, origin, meaning, and application of all categories of names—geographical, personal, scientific, commercial, popular—and the dissemination of the result of such study;

to make the American people conscious of the interest and importance of names in all fields of human endeavor and in all subjects taught in our schools and colleges;

to act as a clearing house for American nomenclature and as an advisory agency for government offices, organizations, and individuals concerned with the application, changing, spelling, and pronunciation of names. The media to attain these purposes will be:

The publication of a quarterly devoted to the study of names;

the publication of books and monographs in the field of onomastics, and the support and encouragement of such publications;

the eventual publication of standard reference dictionaries in the various categories of names;

contributions to the daily press and popular lectures on the subject by members of the Society;

annual national and, if there is sufficient interest, regional meetings of the Society.

The annual dues for active and library members are $5.00; for sustaining members $25.00. An individual or an organization may become a patron of the Society by a single payment of $1,000.00. Membership includes the privilege of purchasing at cost books and pamphlets published by the Society. $4.00 of the membership dues are applied to a year's subscription to *Names*.

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Tribal Names Related With Algonkin

EDWARD TAUBE

The attack on Algonquian tribal names, their meanings and derivations, has generally been a series of individual skirmishes, one name at a time. Since a name often exists in many forms, different interpretations must result, depending upon the particular variant that happens to be chosen. So the explanations have multiplied over the years. What if one opens an offensive on every front, considers all the Algonquian tribal names at once? Then hundreds of names, with dozens of spellings for each one, at first glance create an impression of wild disorder, of corruption gone mad, but subsequent study of this vast complexity brings relationship groups into focus wherein Algonkin and its cognates stand out rather sharply.

For the historic period the home of all the Algonquian tribes has been placed on the North Atlantic coast. When crops failed, game grew scarce, neighbors threatened war, or settlers came in increasing numbers, the Algonquians moved away, ever onward into the interior, scattering into bands as they went. The bands dispersed into smaller and smaller bands, sometimes even into individual families.

The aborigines had no writing, so they handed down their ethnic names from one generation to the next by word of mouth. In passing them on to the settlers, the Algonquians did not speak distinctly, and the white men neither listened nor wrote carefully. Hence on early records and maps the tribal name fragments are spelled in dozens of ways. Moreover, a traveler easily fell into the error of regarding separate villages of the same parent group as distinct tribes, which likewise led to name variations.

Conversely, writers sometimes took notice of the ethnic links between neighboring communities, which was easier to do in the early days before time had almost wiped out the associations.

Captain John Smith drew attention to the ties between bands on both sides of Chesapeake Bay in 1612: "But they on the river of Acohanock with 40 men, and they of Accomack 80 men, doth equalize any of the Territories of Powhatan and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as king."[1] A cartographer, Lewis Evans, stated a reason why differences were often exaggerated: "It may be that Authors, for want of Knowledge in Indian Affairs, have taken every little Society for a separate Nation."[2] He inscribed this remark on his map of 1755 because he did not wish to be criticized for having left off some tribal names. Furthermore, allegedly different Algonquian tribes often united with ease to form a single village, so slight were the distinctions.

As for cognate relationships among specific Algonquian tribal names, several examples are brought forward in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Under the names Abnaki and Algonkin the fact that several variants are common to both receives attention, and the discussion of the name Mahican also sheds some light on Mohegan: "The name, in a variety of forms, has been applied to all the Indians from Hudson r. to Narragansett Bay, but in practical use has been limited to two bodies, one on lower Connecticut r., Conn., known dialectically as Mohegan (q.v.), the other, on Hudson r., known as Mahican."[3] Algonkin and Accomac furnish another example of such an intimate connection.[4]

The tribal names Abnaki and Algonkin have been judged akin, and rightly so, likewise Mahican and Mohegan, Accomac and Algonkin, but abundant linguistic and historic evidence reveals that one ancestral name fixed the pattern of all five, and many others besides.

Numerous Algonquian tribal name variants appear on early maps, in land deeds, treaties, official correspondence, court records, or historical accounts. The *Handbook* offers a convenient means of studying Algonkin and its corrupted cognates, for the variants are entered there under the respective tribal names with sources, dates, and other pertinent facts. Before long the similarities among them come into view, attracting attention in spite of the distortions and abbreviations. Easily seen is the frequent interchange of *k* and *g*. The resemblances exist not only among variants in a

small locality but also among those hundreds of miles away from one another.

Algoumequins, the earliest variant to look most like Algonkin, final *s* being French, was recorded by Champlain in 1603 when he brought out an account of his voyage to New France.[5] The great French explorer told of visiting an encampment near Tadoussac, where he had just landed. The Algoumequins were sharing this encampment on the lower St. Lawrence River with two other related bands. Their headquarters, however, lay up the present-day Ottawa River, as Champlain learned afterwards when he traveled into the interior. On his map of 1612 he marked the home territory with the phrase *C. des algommequins* 'country of Algonkins."[6]

The Bureau of American Ethnology has limited Algonkin to the tribe embodying the descendants of these *algommequins,* of whom some still reside near the historic seat along Ottawa River, while others have scattered over different parts of Quebec Province. Early French writers interpreted the name in a more comprehensive sense, extending it to the aborigines of the lower St. Lawrence River and the North Atlantic coast, especially to the Abnaki. As the kinship of the various Algonquian groups came to be recognized, the Bureau gave the form Algonquian its greatest possible range, to cover the whole family, which embraces tribes from Newfoundland to the Rocky Mountains and from North Carolina to Hudson Bay. Each branch of this large family spoke a dialect of the Algonquian language.

While Samuel Champlain was penetrating up the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, Captain John Smith set out from newly-founded Jamestown on journeys that led to the exploration of the Chesapeake Bay country. Smith's map of 1612 shows a river named Wighco: on the eastern shore, next to it a village called Wighcocomoco.[7] The southern boundary of Lord Baltimore's land grant from Charles I of England in part depended on this river. Besides being mentioned in boundary disputes, the Pocomoke, which got its name from the Pocomoke Indians, entered official records several times in other connections, so for example in 1664: "River Wighco formerly called Wighcocomoco afterwards Pocomoke & now Wighcocomoco againe."[8]

In 1651 several Algonquian bands on the western side of Chesapeake Bay presented a petition to the Maryland government for a land grant at the head of Wicomico River, so that they might occupy it jointly without outside interference. Among the petitioners were the Wicomocons, who bore a name strikingly similar to Algoumequins.[9]

The Maryland name fragments offer important clues for reconstructing the parent word. Wicomocons gives the general pattern. Pocomoke reveals that the original name began with *p,* while the place name Wiccomonico, recorded in 1676, discloses that *m* developed through syncope.[10] Hundreds of other vestigial remnants from the whole Algonquian territory also bring valuable aid for re-creating *pakwaminikewininug* as the ancestral form common to Algonkin and its cognates. *Pakwamin* means 'beaten Indian corn,' being made up of the adjective *pakwa* 'beaten' and the noun *min* 'grain.' The second part of the ancestral form signifies 'maker,' consisting of composition particle *-ke* 'make' and *ininug,* the animate plural of *inini* 'man.' [11]

Pakwaminan, plural of *pakwamin,* gave rise to our dictionary word "hominy." Dr. William Jones felt confident that the second element of the compound "hominy" is *min* but merely drew attention to the mutilated modifier without telling what it means.[12] Preparation of the food involved pounding the corn kernels in a mortar with a pestle, which lends weight to the observation that the first element, *ho,* is an abbreviation of the adjective *pakwa* 'beaten.' Suffix *y* represents *-an,* the inanimate plural ending.

From the earliest notices we have of them, the North American Indians relied on Indian corn for food, not exclusively but in large measure. On his second voyage to Canada (1535–36) Cartier explored the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga (now Montreal), where he came upon fields of Indian corn and saw how the kernels were beaten small in wooden mortars with wooden pestles. Champlain made similar observations along the New England coast while carrying on explorations there in 1606. Provisions might have run out at Jamestown, Va., in 1607 if the Algonquians had not been generous with their Indian corn, which John Smith took in trade on his numerous excursions up the rivers that enter Chesapeake Bay. To supplement their own devices, colonists occasion-

ally adopted the Indian method of crushing corn: "As for grinding corn, etc., they have good Mills upon the Rivers and Creeks; besides Hand-Mills, Wind-Mills, and the *Indian* Invention of pounding Hommony in Mortars burnt in the Stump of a Tree, with a Log for a Pestle hanging at the End of a Pole."[13]

The great Algonquian family roamed about over an extensive territory. Hence separation into its five divisions, eastern, northeastern, northern, central, and western, simplifies keeping the general locations in mind while individual tribal name fragments derived from *pakwaminikewininug* are being examined. Only a selected number of variants (not necessarily the earliest) will be presented here as examples, together with dates and sources.[14] The occasional one ends with *s* because Europeans did not always realize that the original name already was plural. Additional variants may be obtained from the *Handbook*, early maps, writings of the explorers, records and collections of state historical societies, or county histories.

I. Eastern Divison

1. The southern tribes of the eastern division learned to know white men as early as 1584 when English sailors made their way northward over the Pamlico Sound of modern maps to gather information for Walter Raleigh, who was an enthusiastic though unsuccessful promotor of overseas settlement.

PAMLICO—Pomeiock 1584 (village, Burrage, 237), Pomeyooc 1585–86 (village, White map, *ibid.*, 248), Panauuaioc (village, White map, Winsor, III, 124), Pemlicoe 1707 (Carroll, II, 89), Pemblicos 1779 (Hewatt, II, 279).

John White's map of 1585–86 placed Pomeyooc about where Engelhard, N. C., now stands. His map of 1587 put it on the same spot but located a second village, Panauuaioc, on what our maps designate as Pungo River, an embayment at the entrance of Pamlico River into Pamlico Sound. The later references make it clear that the village obtained its name from the tribe.

ROANOKE—Raonoak 1584 (island, Burrage, 235), Roanoac 1585–86 (village, White map, *ibid.*, 248), Hocomawananck 1651 (Salley, 14), Rowanoke 1654 (*ibid.*, 28).

Raleigh's colonists made Roanoke Island their headquarters,

where on their first visit (1584) they had found nine native dwellings constructed of cedar. Though Raonoak was the earliest recorded form and provided the pattern for the present-day spelling, the tribal name variant Hocomawananck more truly represents *pakwaminikewininug.*

WEAPEMEOC—Weapemeoc 1585–86 (White map, Burrage, 248), Yeopim 1662 (locality, N. C. Col. Rec., I, 19), Wecocomicke 1662 (locality, *ibid.*), Perquimans 1662 (river, *ibid.*), Piquemons 1699 (river, *ibid.*, 523).

According to White (map of 1585–86), four villages, one bearing the name Ricahokene, all inhabited by Weapemeoc Indians, clustered about a small stream (Perquimans R.) where it flows into the sound, then sometimes called "Sound of Weapemeiok" (Albemarle).[15] The deed signed by the Yeopim chief in 1662 used the name Wecocomicke for the land and Perquimans for the river.

2. The London Company sent out 105 colonists who founded Jamestown, Va., on May 13, 1607. Captain John Smith proved most energetic in procuring food, especially Indian corn, from the natives.

ACCOMAC—Comokee 1587 (village, White map, Winsor, III, 124), Accowmack 1612 (village, Smith map, Tyler, 76), *Wighco:* 1612 (river, *ibid.*), Pocomoque 1635 (river, Md. Arch., IV, 22), Heckemak 1644 (locality, Myers, 97), Wiccomis 1669 (Md. Arch., II, 195), Arromack 1677 (county, N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., XII, 587), Pocomoke 1686 (Md. Arch., V, 479).

Under a variety of spellings the tribal name, which early took on a place name function besides, flourished along the whole eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay. White (map of 1587) put a palisaded village, Comokee, near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, where the Raleigh colonists had done some exploring. John Smith spelled the name in different ways. As we have seen, he recognized that the inhabitants of Accomack spoke the same language as those residing on the river of Acohanock. For Onancock River, Va., two quite distinct place name forms occur close together in a Maryland record of the year 1638: "River Wiconowe commonly knowne by the name of Anancock on the Easterne side."[16] Wiconowe emphasized the beginning, Anancock the middle and end of *pak-*

waminikewininug. Of all the spellings in the area, Pocomoke comes closest to the original name. In 1686 a Pocomoke band joined four other groups of their village to lodge a complaint with the Maryland government that cattle, horses, and hogs were getting into their corn fields over a bridge at the head of Pocomoke River.

WICOMICO—Wighcocomoco 1612 (village, Smith map, Tyler, 76), Yoacomacoes 1635 (Hall, 73), Wicomocons 1651 (Md. Arch., I, 329).

John Smith (map of 1612) called two villages Wighcocomoco, one on each side of Chesapeake Bay. In 1634 Lord Baltimore's colonists built their homes at Yoacomaco among the Yoacomacoes, north of the Potomac, a few miles upstream. There they bought Indian corn in such quantity the first year that they could export 1,000 bushels to New England.

PAMUNKEY—Pamaunka 1608 (Smith, in Tyler, 67), Pamareke *ca.* 1612 (Strachey, 62), Pamaunkes 1624 (Smith, in Tyler, 376), Pamaomeck 1670 (Hermann map, in Phillips), Pamanuke 1705 (locality, Harris, I, 831).

A month after the founding of Jamestown the settlers received a peace message from the Pamunkeys, whose territory encompassed the mouth of Pamunkey River. Long Island, N. Y., documents contain a place name, Pamunke 1648, which almost duplicates Pamunkey in Virginia but developed independently.[17] Another pertinent place name, Pomonkey, Md., occurs in an area where Pangayo Indians lived in 1688.[18] That Maryland neighborhood also had a village called Pamacacack, with 60 warriors in 1612.[19]

WEANOC—Weanocks 1612 (Tyler, 84), Wainoakes 1650 (Salley, 12), Weyanoakes 1707 (N. C. Col. Rec., I, 660).

These Algonquians, who counted 100 fighting men in 1612, resided on the north bank of the James River, 20 miles upstream from Jamestown. Hard pressed by enemies at the end of the 17th century, they moved over to the south bank, with which they were familiar through excursions that had taken them well into North Carolina.

3. Because their traders had been to South River (Delaware) the Dutch of New Amsterdam claimed the surrounding country. Nevertheless some Swedes came over in 1638 and built a fort on

the site of Wilmington, Del. The Swedes were later ousted by the Dutch, who in their turn were driven out by the English.

ARMEOMEKS—Armeomeks 1630 (De Laet, in Jameson, 52, note 3), Armewanninge 1655 (Myers, 20), Aromaninck 1676 (Winsor, III, 467, note 1), Ockenickan 1679 (Penn. Arch., 2nd s., VII, 801), Aquaninoncke 1683 (Nelson, 122), Unamines 1759 (Rupp, 50).

Early writers tended to overemphasize differences; so De Laet listed the Armeomeks and Ermomex as separate tribes rather than a single group. On a trading voyage De Bries met an Armewanninge chief across the river from modern Philadelphia and arranged for a boatload of Indian corn. Down the river, these people participated in conveying land to the Swedes. Twenty-five miles upstream, they, under the name Ockenickan, argued in 1679 that the locality belonged to them, not to the governor.

CONOY—Canowes 1682 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., III, 322), Conoies 1816 (Boudinot, 126), Kanaa 1828 (Worsley, 92), Konowiki 1836 (Rafinesque, I, 139).

An Algonquian village known as Conoy Town in 1743 stood at the mouth of what is now Conoy Cr., a small tributary of the Susquehanna. The residents recalled abandoning their home on Piscataway Cr., Md., finding temporary quarters on an island in the Potomac, and then moving up the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania. As if to verify the southern origin, Conoy bears a marked resemblance to the place names Wiconowe 1638 (Onancock Cr.) and Wiccoconu 1664 (Wicomico R.).[20]

4. The Dutch settlers at New Amsterdam (New York) wrote down their versions of several tribal names belonging to prominent tribes that came within their sphere of influence.

MAHICAN—Mahicans 1616 (Dutch map, Winsor, IV, 433), Mohicans 1628 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., II, 769), Mahinganak 1646 (Jes. Rel., XXVIII, 274), Moraiguns 1759 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., X, 982).

The Dutch established a trading post at Fort Orange (Albany), which resulted in close contacts en route with the Mahicans who inhabited both banks of the Hudson.

MOHEGAN—Morhicans 1616 (Dutch map, Winsor, IV, 433), Monahiganeucks 1637 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th s., VI, 215), Mowheganneak 1648 (*ibid.*, VII, 413), Nanhegans 1657 (R. I. Col. Rec., I, 362).

According to a Dutch map of 1616, the Mahicans resided on the lower Hudson, the Morhicans on present-day Thames River, Conn., with the Makimanes about halfway between them.

WAPPINGER—Packamins 1633 (De Laet, in Jones, 6), Wappinges 1656 (Van der Donck map, Winsor, III, 438), Wamponas 1755 (Rupp, 88).

Van der Donck (map of 1656) placed the Waranawankongs west, the Waoranecks east, the Wappinges astride Hudson River to the north, all in the immediate neighborhood of Wappinges Kill (Wappinger Cr.). Favoring the Wappingers with an extensive territory, some authors represented them as occupants of villages like Poquonnoc, Quinnipiac, Uncoway, and Woronock, which other writers assigned to separate tribes. The variants point to a close connection with Abnaki.

ROCKAWAY—Rechouwacky 1639 (locality, N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., XIV, 15, *ch* pronounced as *k*), Reckomacki 1660 (locality, *ibid.*, 474, Reweghnoncks 1663 (*ibid.*, XIII, 303).

As in several other instances, the tribal name was written down later than the place names derived from it. These people controlled the western shore of Long Island, the Rockaway and Coney Island neighborhood of today. Rockaway shows development of *r* from initial *p*, just as Morhicans, Waoranecks, and Raonoak exhibit *r* produced through weakening of various other sounds.

5. During the decades after the founding of Plymouth by the Pilgrim Fathers (1620) settlements increased along the New England coast, religious and economic motives bringing many colonists to America. Encirclement of the aborigines resulted in closer contacts, occasionally in armed conflicts that generally ended with removal of the Algonquians towards the west.

PAKANOKICK—Pakanokick 1622 (village, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., BIII, 235), Paconekick 1631 (locality, *ibid.*, 3rd s., III, 22). Wampanooucks 1675 (*ibid.*, 3rd s., I, 67).

Several months passed before the Pilgrim Fathers learned anything definite about their Algonquian neighbors, a tribe numbering about sixty warriors, whose chief paid his first visit to Plymouth in March, 1621. Anxious to continue these friendly relations, the governor a little later in the year sent emissaries to the principal village, Pakanokick, in the Narragansett country. The name suf-

fered syncope of *min* and contraction of *-kewininug* to *-kick;* nevertheless it remains as good a representative of the original form as may be found anywhere. Connecticut records have preserved two spellings that almost repeat Pakanokick, for two separate bands, one being Poquonnoc near Windsor, the other Pequannock near Bridgeport, also written Paqua' at least once.[21]

WAMPANOAG—Wapenocks 1633 (De Laet, in Jameson, 42), Wapanoos 1635 (Jannson map), Wampeage 1653 (Macauley, II, 353), Whampinages 1658 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., V, 217).

Pakanokick and Wampanoag referred to the same people, the former being the spelling first used by the English, the latter by the Dutch. By means of maps and carefully written descriptions Johan De Laet, Dutch geographer and historian, sought to popularize knowledge of the New World among his fellow-countrymen. He located the Wampanoags at Narragansett Bay: "The southeast shore of this bay runs northeast by north and north-northeast. In the lower part of this bay dwell the Wapenocks."[22] Jannson (map of 1635) placed the Wapanoos northwest of the same bay.

NAHICANS—Nahicans 1616 (Dutch map, Winsor, IV, 433), Nanohigganeuks 1622 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., VIII, 241), Nanhiggon 1637–38 (*ibid.,* 4th s., VI, 222), Nannogans 1643 (*ibid.,* VII, 411), Narrowganneucks 1643 (R. I. Col. Rec., IV, 303), Narhicans 1650 (anonymous map, Winsor, III, 382).

Again, both the English of Plymouth and the Dutch of New Amsterdam had dealings with these residents of the Narragansett country. Just as the territories adjoined or merged, so Nahican and Mohegan have name variants that make contact at several points.

QUINEBAUG—Quinepage 1639 (locality, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th s., VII, 278), Quinebaugs 1724 (*ibid.,* 1st s., IV, 174).

This tribe lived along the present-day Quinebaug River, on what many authors treated as Mohegan property.

QUINNIPIAC—Querepees 1633 (De Laet, in Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 9, note 2), Quillipeage 1637 (Trumbull, 61), Panaquanike 1639 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th s., VI, 355), Quimipeiock 1647 (locality, *ibid.,* 3rd s., IV, 7).

The Quinebaug and Quinnipiac, if distinct at all, had not separated long before being mentioned in the records, so nearly does

one name match the other. Variant Panaquanike suffered least through corruption.

Other vestigial remnants of *pakwaminikewininug* survived in different sections of New England: Paquakig, Pegan, Pequin, Hockanoanco, Quabaug, Wepawaug, Uncoway, Agawam, Naumkeag, Nipmuc.

II. Northeastern Division

The northeastern division included tribes dwelling in eastern Maine, the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and eastern Quebec.

ABNAKI—Abenaquioicts 1629–32 (Champlain, VI, 12, intrusive *t*), abnaquinois 1651 (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd s., IV, 433), Abarginny 1654 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd s., II, 66), Wippanaps 1654 (*ibid.*), Onakonque 1663 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., XIII, 298).

The Abnaki of Maine became active allies of the French, carrying on an almost constant armed conflict with the English down to the fall of French power, when they withdrew to Canada. Some authors used the name in a more comprehensive sense, to denote all the Algonquian tribes of the Atlantic Seaboard as far south as Delaware River.

KENNEBEC—Kinibeki 1609 (river, Lescarbot map, Winsor, IV, 152), Kenebekike 1629 (river, charter of New Plymouth, Wiley, I, 237), Akenebek 1650–51 (Jes. Rel., XXXVI, 78), Kennebecks 1674 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., I, 162).

Before they were dispersed by the English in 1724, the Kennebec bands gravitated about their principal river, to which they gave their name. Following a common custom, a French writer in 1689 regarded Abnaki and Kennebec as identical: "The Abenakis, or Canibas, . . . ordinarily reside on the River Quinibequy."[23] The first two names of the quotation lost a *k* sound, from different parts, however, while the third kept it firmly fixed in both positions, as *qu*.

WEWENOC—ouanouinak 1721 (French letter, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd s., VIII, 263, ouarinakiens 1724 (*ibid.*, 247), Womenog 1726 (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., III, 357), Wanonoaks 1760 (Jefferys, 118, map).

Introduced by the French, this later name for the Abnaki and Kennebec Indians gained some currency at the beginning of the 18th century.

III. Northern Division

Until the conquest of Quebec in 1759 the French remained on good terms with the Algonquians of the northern division, going among them as traders and as missionaries.

ALGONKIN—Picquemyans 1545 (Cartier, 41, spelled Picquenyans in a different manuscript), Algoumequins 1603 (Champlain, I, 103), Algonquini 1612 (Jes. Rel., II, 68), Algomequios 1612–14 (*ibid.*, 206), Algonquins 1640 (*ibid.*, XIX, 88), Akouanake 1640–41 (*ibid.*, XXI, 192), Algonouines 1669 (Du Val map, Karpinski, plate IV).

As early as 1536 an Algonkin chief reported to Cartier, who was passing the winter on the lower St. Lawrence River, that he had been away on a visit to "another country of the Picquemyans."[24] The incident occurred during the second voyage, of which Cartier published a narrative in 1545. Almost three quarters of a century later Champlain met the Algoumequins on the lower St. Lawrence and up the Ottawa. According to a Latin letter (1612–14) sent from Canada by a Jesuit, the French found it easy to make friends with the Algomequios who lived towards the west. The spelling Algonquins made its appearance in the Jesuit Relations of 1640 and soon became a favorite.

OUINIPEGOUEK—Ouinipigou 1640 (Jes. Rel. XVIII, 230), Ovenibigonc 1669–71 (*ibid.*, LIV, 134), Ouinipegouek 1657–58 (*ibid.*, XLIV, 246).

The *Jesuit Relations* pictured the Ovenibigonc wandering about in the North Sea (Hudson Bay) region. The Jesuits also wrote that the Ouinipigou frequented the shores of *lac des puans* (Green Bay), called Oüinipeg by the aborigines, and that the Ouinipegouek mingled there with the Noukek. The Puans shown by Champlain (map of 1632) and by other early cartographers are the same people as the Ouinipegouek.[25] Both these names passed over to a small Siouan tribe wedged in among the Algonquians. Ouinipegouek survives as Winnebago. On a map of *ca.* 1738 La Vérendrye entered the name much farther west.[26] By attaching *Lac Gouinipigue* to Lake Winnipeg, he preserved a form reminiscent of Kinibeki and Konowiki, for *g* and *k* are phonetically related sounds, as are *p*, *b*, and *w*. Another name spelled almost like Ouinipegouek was Alimibegouek 1657–58, which designated a people residing on Lake Nipigon.[27]

IV. Central Division

At first the Algonquians of the central division, the indigenous tribes as well as those displaced from the Atlantic Seaboard, allied themselves with the French, but as time went on they began to waver in their loyalty.

ILLINOIS—Irinions 1642 (Jes. Rel. XXIII, 224), Alimiouec 1660 (*ibid.,* XLV, 234), Illiniouek *ca.* 1673 (anonymous map, Kellogg, 228), Ilinois 1673 (Jes. Rel., LIX, 116), Amonokoa 1680 (Hennepin, 310), Oualeanicou 1741 (Coxe, 48), Welinis 1755 (Lewis Evans map, Paullin, plate 26), Hiliniki 1836 (Rafinesque, I, 139).

On their way down the Mississippi in 1673, Marquette and Joliet stopped west of the river at peoüarea, a village of the Ilinois.[28] A contemporary French map separated the residents into two bands, Peouauca and Illiniouek, both of them together having 300 dwellings. Shortly afterwards these people moved to the present-day Peoria neighborhood on the Illinois River, making it their historic gathering place. That is where Jefferys located the Pecuarias on his map of 1760.[29] For Lake Michigan, Creuxius (map of 1660) used the legend *Magnus Lacus algonquiniorum* 'great lake of the Algonquians.'[30] Other writers and cartographers of his time applied the labels *Lac des Ilimoüek, Lac des Oüinipegouek, Lac des Illinois,* and *Lac des Puans.*[31] Illiniouek has much in common with Ouinipegouek; similarly Alimiouec might easily be identified with Alimibegouek, also with Algoumequins.

MIAMI—Oumamik 1657–58 (Jes. Rel., XLIV, 246), Miamioüek 1669–70 (*ibid.,* LIV, 184), Omianicks 1686 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., III, 489).

Besides roaming in Wisconsin, along the Mississippi, and south of Lake Michigan, the Miamis established seven villages in northeastern Indiana. One of these, Omee, stood near the confluence of the Pikkawa branch (St. Marys R.) with Maumee River. After 1747 they found temporary quarters at Pickawillany, about two miles north of modern Piqua, Miami County, Ohio, where they were known as Pickolines or Piques. Variant Miamioüek is spelled very much like Oumamiouekhi 1641, which referred to some Algonquians who shifted about between the lower St. Lawrence River and Hudson Bay.[32] The Miamis and Mohegans spoke dialects intelligible to both, according to an observation made in 1751.

PIQUA—Pequehan 1707 (village, Penn. Col. Rec., II, 386), Pahaqualin 1718 (village, Snell), Piques 1755 (Lewis Evans map, Paullin, plate 26), Pickawes 1798 (Barton, xxxii).

It was not at all unusual for bands to travel hundreds of miles and attach their names to each new village. Starting at Illinois River, some Piquas reached the head of Chesapeake Bay, whence about 1697 they moved up the Susquehanna. They halted a few years at Pequehan, on what is now Pequea Creek, in Pennsylvania. After abandoning their habitations south of Lake Erie to join the English against the French, a different Piqua group found conditions above the Delaware Water Gap congenial enough to stay for a while. A tract claimed there by a white settler in 1718 was described as being near Pahaqualin, an Indian village. During later migrations the Piquas encamped on different Ohio sites, establishing themselves in Pickaway County as well as at Piqua on Miami River, at Piqua on Mad River, and at Pickaweeke in Ross County.

V. Western Division

Tribes of the western division roamed over the Prairie Provinces of Canada and the Great Plains of the United States. The Blackfeet were sometimes called Pagans (1837) or Kawinahan (1862), which were the names of two prominent groups within the confederacy.[33]

PIEGAN—Paegan 1790 (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., VI, 270), Peganoekoon 1824 (Franklin, I, 109), Pegans 1824 (*ibid.*), Pilgans 1845 (Wilkes, IV, 471), Pegano 1852–53 (Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., V, 34).

The variants point to forms found in New England, where the Pegans and Pequins had dealings with the colonists of sufficient importance to be put on record.

KAINAH—Kainoekoon 1824 (Franklin, I, 109), Kainau 1889 (Tims, 113).

Again the variants direct attention back to the east, with Kainoekoon reminding us of Ockenickan and Kainau of Kanaa.

Interlocking variants lead from one tribal name to another over the whole area of Algonquian occupance, so linking Algonkin with its numerous cognates. Pakanokick in southern New England

resembles Peganoekoon on the Great Plains; Picquemyans on the lower St. Lawrence River, Canada, looks like Perquimans in North Carolina; Wicomocons in Maryland echoes Algoumequins in Quebec, Canada; Kinibeki in Maine matches Quinebaug and Quinnipiac in Connecticut as well as Konowiki in Pennsylvania.

Polymorphic corruption, a process whereby tribal name distortions became the originals for additional distortions, resulted from poor pronunciation, faulty listening, careless writing. Comparative study of numerous name fragments and variants unmasks *pakwaminikewininug* 'hominy makers' as the original ethnic name that produced Algonkin and its corrupted cognates. Pakanokick, Peganoekoon, Pocomoke, and Wicomocons present the general word pattern; Packamins, Pamanuke, Amonokoa, and Omianicks expose *min,* the Algonquian word for grain; Algonquini, Abarginny, Mowheganneak, and Ouinipegouek suggest *-kewininug* 'makers' for the final element of the ancestral name.

Here and there throughout the whole Algonquian territory the forms that kept initial *p* intact, though otherwise abbreviated or corrupted, turn up in the records, with a marked concentration, however, on the Atlantic Seaboard. At different times and places, the following were applied by writers and cartographers to distinct bands: Pakanokick, Peganoekoon, Picquemyans, Perquimans, Packamins, Pocomoke, Poquonnoc, Pequannock, Pekineni, Pakanavo, Pickolines, Paquakig, Punkapog, Pangayo, Pegan, Pequin, Piqua, Peoria, Puans, Pamunkey, Pamlico, Panaquanike.

Interpretations already in existence range from the serious to the ludicrous. Some have attained such a vogue that no one has ever dared to question their correctness; others fully deserve their almost complete obscurity. No good purpose would be served here by presenting a long list of questionable derivations, let alone writing a criticism of each one.

NOTES

[1] J. Smith in L. G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia.* New York, 1907, 89.

[2] C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.* Baltimore, 1932, plate 26.

[3] F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* Bull. 30, B.A.E., Govt. Print. Off., 1912, I, 786.

[4] J. H. Trumbull, *On Algonkin Names for Man.* Trans. Am. Phil. Ass., Hartford, 1872, II, 153.
[5] S. de Champlain, *Works,* Toronto, 1922–36, I, 103.
[6] J. Winsor, *History of America.* Boston, 1884–89, IV, 382.
[7] L. G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia.* New York, 1907, 76.
[8] *Maryland Archives.* Baltimore, 1883–1954, III, 491.
[9] *Ibid.,* I, 329.
[10] *Ibid.,* V, 152.
[11] Useful dictionaries are:
A. Lacombe, *Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris.* Montreal, 1874.
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[12] F. W. Hodge, *op. cit.,* 558.
[13] H. Jones in F. C. Rosenberger, *Virginia Reader.* New York, 1948, 187.
[14] These sources are:
B. J. Barton, *New Views.* Philadelphia, 1798.
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J. Winsor, *op. cit.*
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[15] H. S. Burrage, *op. cit.*, 251.
[16] *Maryland Archives*, III, 80.
[17] W. W. Tooker, *Indian Place-Names on Long Island*. New York, 1911, 183.
[18] *Maryland Archives*, V, 34.
[19] L. G. Tyler, *op. cit.*, 86.
[20] *Maryland Archives*, III, 80, and I, 534.
[21] J. H. Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford*. Boston, 1886, II, 501. *Connecticut Colonial Records*. Hartford, 1850, I, 28, and 54.
[22] Translated in J. F. Jameson, *op. cit.*, 42.
[23] Translated in *New York Documents Relating to Colonial History*, IX, 433.
[24] Original French in J. Cartier, *op. cit.*, 41.
[25] J. Winsor, *op. cit.*, IV, 387.
[26] P. La Vérendrye, *Journals and Letters*. Toronto, 1927, I, 288.
[27] *Jesuit Relations*, XLIV, 249.
[28] *Ibid.*, LIX, 126.
[29] T. Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 1, map.
[30] J. Winsor, *op. cit.*, IV, 389.
[31] *Jesuit Relations*, LI, 26, XLV, 218, and LIX, 86 (Joliet's map of 1674). Map by P. Du Val, *Amérique Septentrionale*. Paris, 1679.
[32] *Jesuit Relations*, XXI, 116. Also see L, 29.
[33] *Indian Affairs Report*. Washington, 1837, 73. F. Hayden, *Ethnography and Philology of the Missouri Valley*. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, 1862, new s., XII, 326.

The Spanish Crown and Early American Names

JACK A. DABBS

In the first years after the discovery of America, compared with economic and social problems, there was relatively little thought and design given to the bestowal of names upon the new lands, and some of the heterogeneity that now plagues us can be traced back to that fact. This does not mean that Spanish officialdom was indifferent to the use and allocation of names. Quite on the contrary, early documents reveal some caution about their use. A few examples will show how they exercised this concern.

The Capitulación de Santa Fe, April 12, 1492, referred to "islands and mainland that are to be discovered." The royal contracts avoided the name Indies.[1]

When Columbus reached land in the New World, although he insisted that he had reached the Indies, where many place names were already known, he nonetheless gave new names to the first islands, following the pattern of the religious and royal hierarchy—San Salvador, Santa María de la Concepción, Fernandina, Isabela, Juana, and then Española,[2] despite the fact that he had already ascertained from the natives that they called the islands by such names as Guanahaní, Saomete, and Bochiro. There is no documentary evidence that he had specific instructions from the Crown to bestow names. If he did so, he depended on some vague, unwritten law or tradition that seems to give a discoverer or explorer *virtute facto* the right to name his discoveries, a tradition by no means confined to the Spanish world. It is not clear whether tradition confers the right to bestow the name or simply to propose a name subject to some sort of ratification. Moreover, when a new discovery already has a name, and the name is ascertainable, does the discoverer still have the right to discard it in favor of another

of his own choosing? Such questions are always difficult when we deal with tradition or unwritten laws.

Another question, unanswerable at the present time, refuses to be laid aside. Columbus presumably believed that he had reached the Spice Islands or Cathay or Cipango, and it rested on his shoulders to prove that he had. Under these circumstances, why did he not give names that would reflect those lands rather than give religious and royal names?

At any rate in his first voyage Columbus, departing from the systematic order of the first islands, gave other place names, of which 64 are recorded in his chronicles. Sixteen of them were either saints' names or names with religious references; one refers to the royal family; forty-one refer to incidents or characterizations, and six retained what seems to be the local title.[3] In view of the ostensible reason for the voyage and Columbus' asseverations, it seems inconsistent that not one of these 64 names smacks of the Spice Islands, Cipango, or Cathay.

The flurry of excitement that followed Columbus' return was directed at political, religious, geographical, and philosophical concepts, very little at onomastics. It is noteworthy, however, that the names bestowed by Columbus carried no weight, and for the next six months documents spoke in the most general terms. The Pope and the Spanish Crown accepted the premise that Columbus had reached the Indies, but with a cautious qualification.

The Bula de Concesión, May 3, 1493, gave the Spanish Kings the right to spread the faith without coercion in any land not already possessed by a Christian prince; but there is no mention of names, nor mention of any part of the New World.[4]

The Bula de Alejandro VI, May 4, 1493, repeated the wording of the previous one except for two places, where the dividing line was set at 100 leagues west of the Azores[5] and which placed under Spanish jurisdiction the islands and mainland "in the direction of the Indies."

This term "en las partes de las Indias" became fairly standard in the Spanish official papers of the next few months. Seven of the first fifteen documents ordering preparations for the Second Voyage use that term to describe the destination.[6] Eight of the others are outright admissions that the new islands were in fact

the Indies. However, particularly noteworthy is the fact that in the several dozen communications that preceded the Second Voyage, none of the directions named any island or part of any island by name. This omission, coming from the court several months after Columbus had made his report, can only be interpreted as an indication that the royal couple had not yet accepted any of the names given by Columbus.

A new royal letter of instructions to Columbus on May 28, 1493, formally appointed him to be "Almirante, Visorey, y Gobernador del Mar Océano y de las islas de Tierra firme del dicho mar océano a la parte de las Indias."[7]

A royal letter of instructions to Columbus and Fonseca, May 23, gave specific directions for many activities they were to undertake. Nothing was said about naming places.[8]

Again, five days later another royal letter specified Columbus' powers in the islands, but none were named.[9]

A cédula, dated May 29, with further instructions to Columbus enjoined him to send ships to discover what had not been discovered, to engage in trade, and to explore.[10] In view of the detail to which the cédula went, it would have been a likely place to confer the right to name places; but names are not mentioned. Moreover, the cédula specified that Columbus had no rights beyond those written therein. This provision, however, cannot be taken as a denial of the right to name new places, because if the right were based on tradition or on unwritten law, then we could not expect it to find expression here nor for a general prohibition to affect it.

As preparations for the Second Voyage continued, the Queen grew more impatient with delays, and at last, in September she wrote to Columbus, "Send me the sailing chart as soon as you have it finished, and hurry up and leave."[11] This was the last letter before Columbus sailed, and we cannot avoid the impression that he departed without official sanction for any of the names he had bestowed.

The one reference made in that letter to names seems too vague to help with the present problem: "Nos imbiad luego muy complida y escriptos con ella [la carta] los nombres; . . ." which seems to take it for granted that Columbus already had unwritten instruc-

tions, an unwritten right, that his proposals were in order, or possibly that the Queen desired the local names.

That same month, on September 25, the third Bull was issued in Rome, referred to as the Bula de Extensión de la Demarcación. It extended Spanish rights to include *La India*. No other geographical term in the New World was mentioned, nor was *La India* located.[12] The next year, when the Treaty of Tordesillas was signed, July 2, 1494, it set the line of demarcation 270 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and set up a joint commission of pilots, astrologers, cosmographers, and sailors to determine and mark that line. The only names mentioned were places on the Guinea Coast and in the Cape Verde Islands.[13]

Once back in the islands and having established the colony on Española, Columbus gave instructions to a certain Mosen Pedro Margarite to reconnoiter what he called the Province of Cibao, evidently Cuba. In the letter, dated April 9, 1494, Columbus gave his own title as Visorey e Capitán General de Estas Indias, and he signed the letter El Almirante. But the scribe who put the title on the outisde wrote "Almirante mayor del Mar Océano e Visorey e Gobernador perpétuo de la Isla de San Salvador e de todas las otras islas e Tierra firme de las Indias descobiertas y por descobrir e Capitán General del Mar." Reference to the Island of San Salvador, as we have seen, was unauthorized; but it appears several times in correspondence prepared by Columbus. We can only explain it as an effort of the Admiral to establish his own authority more firmly by linking it with some place name more tangible than that of the Indies. The letter instructed Margarite to explore the Province, to erect crosses and benchmarks along the roads and trails, and to put crosses in the trees and to write on some the names of Their Highnesses. The letter was dated Ciudad Isabela, Isla de Isabela en las Indias.[14] There was no mention of giving names to places.

The first ship to return from the Second Voyage brought letters from Columbus to the Queen, describing what he had accomplished, and at the same time brought confirmatory letters from the Queen's own trusted officials. At last we begin to find some official word on names. Her answer, dated August 16, 1494, ex-

pressed her pleasure with what had already been done. Then she went on to say,

> But we would like to know something more than you have written. Let use know what islands have been found so far and to which you have given names, and what name for each one. Because although you name some in your letters, they are not all. And [We want to know] for the others what names the Indians call them, how much there is to each of them, and what you have found in them.[15]

This letter may be considered the beginning of legislation on names for the New World, meager as it may seem. It contains the elements that were to continue as policy: An assumption that the right to give names remained with the explorer, discoverer, or founder, while the Crown maintained only an indirect interest in the name; a policy for the local names to be reported, though not necessarily applied; and a geographical report of the nature of the discovery. This last report was to be the basis for the great store of geographical information at the disposal of the Piloto Mayor.[16]

Finally in a cédula of April 9, 1495, in a contract with Juanoto Berardi, the term La Isla de Española was used, thus accepting it as a true geographical term.[17] Thus for the first time the Crown took official cognizance of the existence of a specific place in the New World by name, fourteen months after the return of Columbus from the First Voyage. Although we can only conjecture on these subjects, it seems that the Queen's cautiousness resulted not from any dissatisfaction with the names or the Admiral's right to give them, but rather a caution about the real existence of the places until her own agents had confirmed them. After that date, however, the name of Española frequently appears in official communications of all kinds; but again it was many months before any other place name was used.

On his Second Voyage Columbus named several new islands, one of them the island which the Indians called Xamaica, but to which he gave the name Santiago. This is a special case because in a contract with Diego de Nicuesa and Alonso de Ojeda in 1508 the king, now Ferdinand alone, referred to the island as Jamaica,[18] and yet in 1515 he reversed himself. At that time Governor Velázquez of Cuba had given the name Santiago to another island, and in a cédula Ferdinand wrote,

I saw the map of the island of Ahao, which you named Santiago, and it looks well to me. You should examine it and find out in what way advantage may be taken of it for our service and the increase of our incomes. Send me a special report on it, because the island which up to now has been called Jamaica we order shall henceforth be called Santiago because the Admiral gave that name when he was on the said island, and to have two islands with the same name would be inconvenient. So I order you to remove the name Santiago which you have given the new island and give it the name of some Saint, whichever you prefer . . . . and advise me of the name you give it. And, as you will see, I have ordered that henceforth that island which up to now has been called Cuba be called Fernandina because the name it had was unbecoming [algo fuera de próposito]; henceforth it shall be called by this name. Yo el Rey.[19]

This cédula sets an example of another aspect of early place names—the impotence of the Crown to command names in the New World. Although the use of saints' names was encouraged and the King accepted the role of ratifying proposed names, he specifically ordered two particular names for the two islands. Despite the order neither name has survived, proving that the forces which govern the rise of place names are not always amenable to royal edict.

NOTES

[1] Pacheco, Joaquín F., Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza, (Eds.) *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía* . . . , (Madrid, 1864–84, 42 vols.), XIX, 432–439.

[2] Columbus, *Select Letters,* Hakluyt Society, XLIII, 1870, 2nd Ed., Colón al Escrivero de Ración, p. 2. The self-assuredness with which Columbus bestowed the names appears in his own words: "A la quinta isla [puse nombre] Juana, et asy a cada una [puse] nombre nueuo."

[3] *Ibid.,* 1–18. Also printed in José María Asensio, *Cristóbal Colón, su vida,—sus viajes—sus descubrimientos.* Edición Monumental. (Barcelona, Espasa & Cía., n.d. 1892? 2 vols.) I, Apéndice H, 566–572. For greater detail see the account given by Bartolomé de las Casas in Manuel Fernández de Navarrete (Ed.), *Rélations des Quatre voyages entrepris par Cristophe Colomb pour la découverte du Nouveau Monde de 1492 à 1504* (Paris, Treuttel & Würtz, 1828, 4 vols.), II, 1–338. Saints' Names or Religious References: Cabo del Ángel, Cabo de Padre e Hijo, Isla de Santo Tomás ("because tomorrow is the feast of St. Thomas," p. 208), Cabo de San-Theramo, Mar de Nuestra Señora, Monte Cristi, Navidad, Puerto de la Concepción, Puerto María, Puerto Sacro, Puerto de San Nicolás, Puerto de Santa Catalina, Puerto Santo, Puerto de la Mar de Santo Thomás ("because today is the feast of St. Thomas," p. 220), Punta Santa, Río de Gracia. The royal family: Puerto del Príncipe. Incidents or Characterizations: Cabo Alto y Bajo, Cabo del Becerro, Cabo Bel Prado, Cabo del Buen Tiempo, Cabo de Campana, Cabo de la Estrella, Cabo del Elefante, Cabo del Enamorado, el Cabo Francés, Cabo Hermoso, Cabo del Isleo, Cabo de la Laguna, Cabo Lindo, Cabo del Monte, Cabo de Palmas, Cabo del Pico, Cabo Cinquin, Cabo Redondo, Cabo de Sierpe, Cabo Tajado, Cabo de Torres, Dos Hermanos, Golfo de las Flechas,

Isla de la Amiga, Islas de Arena, Isla de Plata, Isla de la Tortuga, Monte de Plata, Peña de los Enamorados, Punta Aguda, Punta del Hierro, Punta Lanzada, Punta Pierna, Punta Roja, Punta Seca, Río Guadalquivir, Río de la Luna, Río de Mares, Río del Oro, Río del Sol, and Valle del Paraíso. Local Titles: Cuba, Cabo de Cuba, Golfo de Samaná, Isla Baveque, Monte Carabata, Marinino. Other local names are mentioned but not specified as accepted or used by the Europeans: Babeque, Bofan, Bosio, Cami, Canima, Caritaba, Cavila, Cibao, Coroay, Fama, Fuma, Goanin, Guisay, Isla de Carib, Macorix, Mayonic, Yalnaye.

[4] Levillier, Roberto, *América la bien llamada* (Buenos Aires, Ed. Kraft, 1948, 2 vols.), I, 243–244.

[5] *Ibid.*, 245–247. Also in J. M. Asencio, *Cristóbal Colón*, I, 574–577.

[6] Pacheco & Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos . . .* , XIX, 475, 478, 496, 497, 499, 501.

[7] *Ibid.*, XXX, 109–119.

[8] *Ibid.*, XIX, 484–488.

[9] *Ibid.*, XXX, 120–122.

[10] *Ibid.*, XXX, 145–157.

[11] *Ibid.*, XXX, 211–215.

[12] Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 247–248.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 248–252.

[14] Pacheco & Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos . . .* , XIX, 521–529.

[15] *Ibid.*, XXX, 299–303.

[16] This statement for general policy lasted until the last third of the sixteenth century when the Crown authorized a questionnaire which required a detailed report of each Spanish settlement. These reports now make up one of our best sources of place-name information, since for each populated area, the questionnaire called for the Indian name and its meaning.—*Ynstrucción y memoria de las relaciones que se han de hacer para la descripción de las Indias que Su Magestad manda hazer para el buen Gobierno y ennoblecimiento de ellas,* Pacheco & Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos . . .* , XXI, 240–250.

[17] *Ibid.*, XXI, 557–561.

[18] *Ibid.*, XXII, 22.

[19] *Ibid.*, Segundo Serie, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones de ultramar* (Madrid, 1885–1928, 21 vols.), I, 56–58.

Frisian Family and Place Names

GEART B. DROEGE

Frisian speech, in which these name types took shape, is historically more akin to English than to Dutch and German. Today 400,000 or 96 per cent of the speakers of Frisian in Europe live in the Netherlandish Province of Friesland (Mid-Friesland). The remainder lives in Germany, in roughly the northern half of North Friesland, on Helgoland, and in the tiny speech island of the Saterland in western Oldenburg. These are the only Frisian lands which have not been won away from Frisian speech by Low German, Dutch, and German.

The Frieslands, the Lands of the Frisians, are never more than fifty miles out of sight of the North Sea. Lengthwise, they follow the coastal trend of that sea from north of the Hague, Haarlem and Amsterdam eastward to north of Groningen, Oldenburg and Bremen. The Elbe estuary country forms a break in the continuity of the Frisian Lands, but once the Eider is reached, North Friesland is found to make up the islands and coastal strip of German Schleswig as far north as slightly over the German border into Denmark.

Place name suffixes that evolved in Frisian bestow a toponymic character upon a portion of the earth's surface that never was and never will be duplicated. I shall proceed to consider such name types for the Frieslands as a whole. Four specifically Frisian toponym suffix types that enjoy more than a local distribution are:

I. *–each* or *–oog*. From west to east the *eagen* of the Frieslands run as follows:

1. Callantsoog, today on the west coast of West Friesland in the north of the Provine of North Holland, but during the Early Middle Ages the fishing village of Callinghe on an *oech* or island. Through Frisian palatalization Callinghe became Callens. The "Callensoogers" were the descendants and the workers of the descendants of an ancestor named Calle.

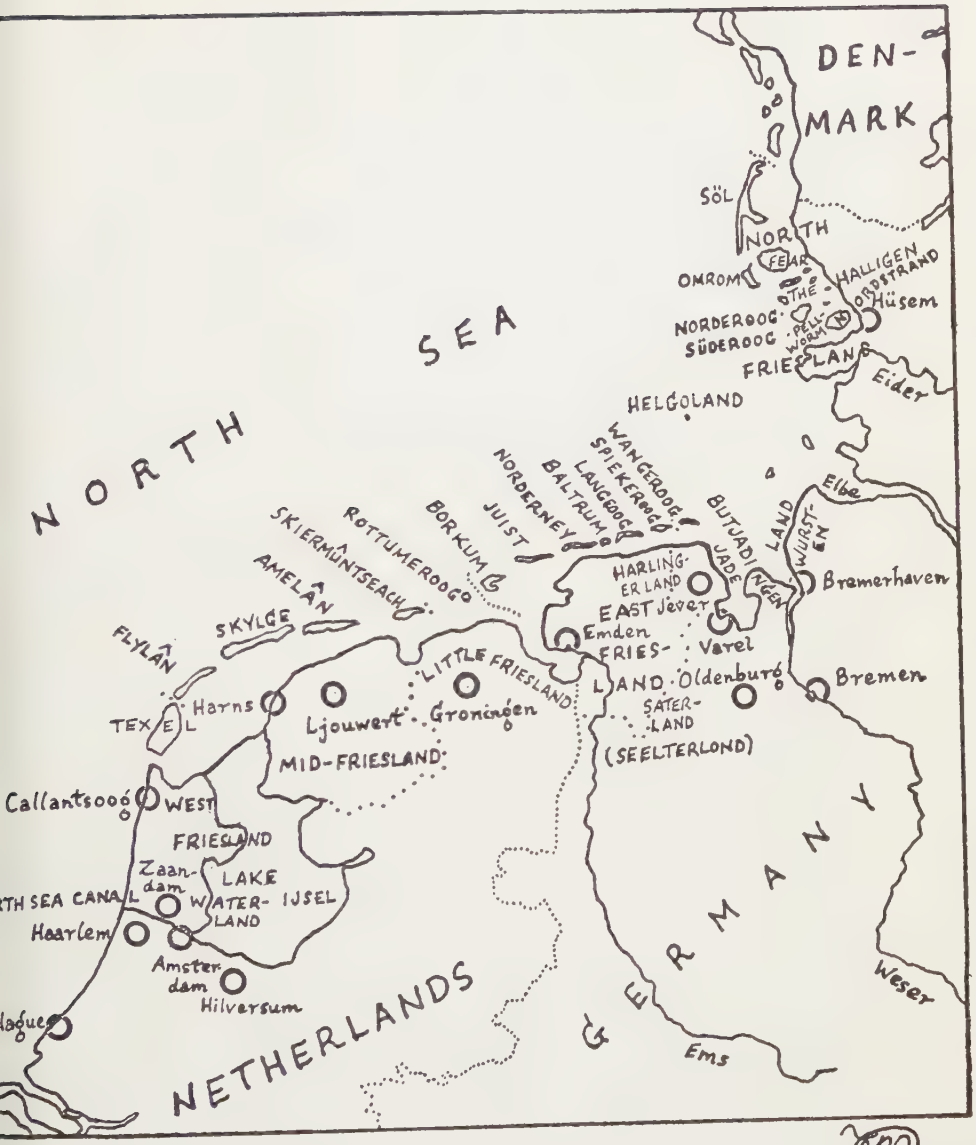
2. Schiermonnikoog (Mid-Frisian Skiermûntseach)

3. Rottumeroog (Groningen, Netherlands)
4. Langeoog (East Friesland, Germany)
5. Spiekeroog (East Friesland)
6. Wangeroog (Oldenburg)
7. Süderoog (the Halligen, North Friesland)
8. Norderoog (the Halligen)

Inland reminders of former islands are Edenserloog, south of Spiekeroog, and Middoge, to the southeast of the latter, and just across the border of the Harlinger Land in the Jeverland of Oldenburg.

II. *–ens.* This is the specifically Frisian *–ing* toponymic suffix. Places that end in it had their start as clan villages. Such are not met with everywhere in the Frieslands as *–ens,* not even sporadically, on the right bank of the Weser and in North Friesland. Clusters of them are found in Mid-Friesland just southwest of Leeuwarden (Mid-Frisian *Ljouwert*), and in the East Friesland-Oldenburg border country north of the Jadebusen, and then on across to Butjadingen, still in Oldenburg, to the Weser. Examples of *–ens* toponyms are Harns (Mid-Frisian for Harlingen), Esens in the Harlinger Land of northern, coastal East Friesland, and Tettens on the Weser estuary in Butjadingen.

III. *–um,* the equivalent of English *–ham,* 'home', German *–heim* and Flemish *–em* place names. It is both spatially and historically distinct from the *–um* toponyms of the Rhenish-Weser country at the latitude of Westphalia; from those of the Saxon Lower Weser country; and from those of Jutland, which come as near the (North) Frisian *–um* complex as western North (Danish) Schleswig. *–um* is the most universal of all the toponym suffixes of the Frieslands. It is only missing altogether between the Jade and the Weser. A four fold example of a Frisian *–um* name is Midlum, found from east to west on Föhr (local Frisian Fear), in Land Wursten (east of the Weser Estuary) as Gross Midlum in the Krumme Hörn peninsula of westernmost East Friesland, and in Mid-Friesland straightway northeast of Harns. An interesting island of *–um* names lies east of Amsterdam in the Gooi or Gooiland of North Holland. In a personal communication of January 10, 1955, from Amsterdam, G. Karsten expressed his belief to the writer that Bussum, Blaricum and Hilversum, all in the Gooi, as well as Castricum, north of Haarlem and the North Sea Canal in Kennemerland, were apparently Frisian *–um* toponyms.



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IV. *–wierde.* The first settlers of the North Sea marshes built their villages on top of mounds as protection against high tidal floods. This was not only true in the Frisian Lands, but in the Elbe estuary country and Didmarschen, separating the Frieslands, as well. With the erection of dikes around 1000 A.D. the practice was eventually to come to an end, but *–wierde,* '–island,' names dot the landscape to remind us of it. Where these toponyms are found in such forms as *–wurt, –wort* or *–wörden* they are Low German. In the Eiderstedt peninsula of southern North Friesland there occur place names like Oldenswort and Witzwort. There are no *–wierde* toponyms at all in the remainder of North Friesland, where mounds are smaller and evidently more recent. The character of the Frisian *–wierde* names is readily seen from the following examples, given from west to east: perhaps Waarder (earlier Werthere), immediately south of West Friesland proper; Birdaard (Mid-Frisian Birdaerd, with *ae* a long "a"), Abbingawier (*–wer* in 1379) and Kimswerd (Mid-Frisian Kimswert and Kimsert) in Mid-Friesland; Feerwerd and Holwierde in "Little Friesland," the so-called Ommelanden that are around or *om* the city of Groningen (Mid-Frisian Grins) on three sides; Loquard and Upleward ('upon low *wierde*') west of Gross Midlum, and Toquard in northeastern East Friesland; Waddewarden and Wiarden (pronounced Wehrden) in the Jeverland of Northwestern Oldenburg; Kirchhammelwarden on the left bank of the Weser, midway between Bremen and Bremerhaven, and Aschwarden and Offenwarden on the other side; and in Land Wursten Weddewarden and Wierde (Mulsumer Wieren, reminding one of DeWierren in Mid-Friesland). The plural Wieren may be a reproduction of the local Frisian form, for Frisian speech did not die out in Land Wursten until near the end of the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the Netherlands southwest of Mid-Friesland, names of places and (especially) areas that have endings like *–waard,* almost invariably hark back in origin to designations for polder. Contrast this with the name of Land Wursten (Old Frisian Wurtsetenalond), literally the 'land of mounds.' The basic meaning of 'island' has not been lost in these polder toponyms, but, qualitatively speaking, they cannot be said to be specifically Frisian.

Aside from suffix types, Frisian place names can be recognized

and uncovered by another means. In the province of North Holland, for example, the historical phonetic development of many a place name betrays its underlying Frisianness. An application of the principle that proto-Germanic *au* is found in Old Frisian as *a,* makes known as Frisian the place names of Beemster (Bamstera even before 989) and of Oosthuizen (*Asthusa* in 1200), both between Amsterdam and southeastern West Friesland, and the Zaan toponym complex (from Old Frisian *sâtha* 'sod' north of the North Sea Canal in its middle course.

Family naming as the rule in the Frieslands became fixed in Land Wursten in the sixteenth century, in North Friesland after 1771, and elsewhere after 1811. The typical Frisian family name is derived from a patronym. Most of such names in North Friesland, reflecting Danish influence, end in *–sen,* 'son', as in Boysen and Brodersen. In southern North Friesland (Eiderstedt) and on Helgoland, however, they generally end in a genitive "s." Family names put together with given names like Bow ('Boy') and Broder ('Brother') take on manifold forms and are compounded in sundry ways in the Frieslands, some of which are: *Boy*— Boeyens (double genitive *–en - s*) on Helgoland; Boyungs in the Frisian Weser country (strong genitive "s" added after original meaning of *–ing* forgotten; see I below); Boyingsna, Bojunga, Bogena, etc. in East Friesland; and Boyenga and Bogema in Mid-Friesland. Broder– Braren (weak genitive singular –en) on Föhr, *Broders* on Helgoland, Brörkens in East Friesland, Broersema in Little Friesland and Broersma and Broers in Mid-Friesland. *Siebs* in Land Wursten; Siebsen in Butjadingen and Stadeland, to the south; Seeba, Siebena, etc. in East Friesland; Siebma, Syben, etc. in Mid-Friesland; and Siebesz in North Holland.

Besides patronymic family names like Siebesz, Douwes ('Dove') and Sieuwerts or Sievertsz ('Siegfried') the province of North Holland has a very distinctive type of anthroponym. It too is so largely made up of familiar Frisian given names, with the difference that these are all reduced to one syllable, yielding family names like Bek, Lol, Mens, Nan, Rob and Wit. Right across from the West Frisian Lands of North Holland, the Mid-Frisians of the so-called South Hook have a predilection for reducing given names in this manner. Hence Lol is a shortened form of Lolle; Rob, of the re-

gional Robyn; etc. This, however, has no effect upon conventional family names like Lolles, Lollinga, Lollema; Robyn, Robyns, Robynsma, the Frisian "Robinsons"; etc.

The most readily recognizable as Frisian of Frisian family names end in "a". They make up one half of the family names of Mid-Friesland and one fourth of those of Little Friesland. The *–a* family name bloc thus formed extends across the German border into East Friesland and the so-called Frisian or Friesische Wehde west of Varel. It is a particularly numerous vestigial element among more typical *–sen* family names, best represented in northern East Friesland. Farther east, in the Weser estuary country, such names had centuries past lost their Frisian character under Low German influence. A man whose name was recorded in Land Wursten as Peke ('Peter') Tetilda in 1365, was recorded four years later as Peke Thedele. The name Inungha, also recorded in the latter year, seems a rare bird indeed among such Wurster family names stripped of their final "a," as Loving (Luvinghes 1369) and Witting (Wittig 1365). On the other side of the Weser estuary in Butjadingen two documents of 1424 and 1427 bear good Frisian family names like Hammerga, Ywalda and Howesna (1424), and Pekinga and Uffana (1427).

The classification below of Frisian family names that end in "a" is adapted chiefly from Sipma (1952). The examples following the suffixes given, except in V and VI, represent about one third of the family names of the category concerned, found in the Membership List of the Frisian Academy in Ljouwert, as of September 1, 1954. Oldest of the suffixes of Frisian family names is

I. *–inga.* Cleveringa (Little Friesland), Heidinga, Kruizinga, Piebenga, Runia, Siebinga, Tjessinga, Tuininga. This is the Old Frisian genitive plural, and denotes clansmen, and their serfs and servants (see under *–ens* toponyms above). It was customary to speak of the "Piebenga" folk, for example, meaning the descendants, along with their serfs and servants, of a man who bore the nickname of Pibe for Sibren ('victory' and 'forest land cleared by burning'). *–inga* names can also hark back to toponyms (Heide?); to spatially unspecified locations like a garden (Mid-Frisian tún); and to things, like a cross (Mid-Frisian krús). *–ega* as in Mennega (East Frisian Mennenga) is a variant of *–inga. –inga, –enga* and

–unga are all pronounced the same. The latter spelling, characteristically East Frisian, as in Hajunga, may well be due to the influence of High German (Mid-Frisian rekken*ing*, but German Rechn*ung*, cognates of English 'reckoning').

II. *–a.* Hyma, Roorda. This is the old Frisian weak genitive singular, and was used:

1. to indicate sonship: Roorda was the son of 'glory' (*hrod*) + 'protector' (*ward*); Rörden is an indigenous family name of Föhr.
2. After place names to indicate precise locational provenience. The 'a' after *–um* toponyms, as in Bierma and Hallema (Bierum, Hallum), may have given rise by analogy to forms of

III. *–ma.* Bierma, Buma, Douma, Fokkema, Galama, Hallema, Miedema, Kalma, used to indicate sonship, as in the given name Gala + ma, the family name Roorda + ma (like East Frisian Seba + na) the given name Kalle + ma (see I, 1, Callantsoog above), etc.

IV. *–sma* (*–s + ma*). Folkertsma, Fridsma, Glazema, Koksma, Reitsma, Tolsma. This compound suffix is used:

1. to indicate sonship where the *–s* ending does this by itself, as in Folkerts, Fridses, Reits, etc.
2. to indicate precise locational provenience as a contraction of *–uma* family names like Tolsma (Tolsuma) and perhaps Reitsma (Reitsuma).
3. to indicate occupation, as in Glazema ('glazier') and perhaps Koksma ('cook').

V. *–na* (*–ena*) like little Frisian *–ema,* reflecting the drawl of the East and Little Frisians). This suffix is usually regarded as derived from the Old Frisian weak genitive plural. Winkler saw no more than a difference in dialect between *–na* and *–ma,* and *–sna* and *–sma.* A few *–na* family names are indigenous to eastern Little Friesland (Oldamt and Fivelgo) but they are more at home in northern East Friesland. Here Agena, Alena, Dekena and Popena are all matched by the Mid-Frisian Abema, Alema, Dekema and Poppema. Rykena is a far-eastern example from Moorhausen, a northern suburb of Varel like Little Frisian *–sema.*

VI. *–sna* (*–sena*).This form is specifically East Frisian. Examples are the dynastic East Frisian house of Cirksena (Little Frisian Sierksema, on the 1954 membership list of the Frisian Academy), Folkertsena, and Lyursna, corresponding to the now extinct Mid-Frisian *Luyrtsma,* Frisian Luthers (folk or German Leute + Heer).

VII. *–stra.* Boonstra, Dijkstra, Feenstra, Poelstra, Schootstra,

Terpstra, Zijlstra. *–stra* was originally no suffix at all, but was derived from Old Frisian *sitta,* 'to sit, to live.' Thus the noun *sittera* (*–setra, –settra*), suffixed to a location, became *–stra;* those who live "there," those who are from "there" is what this suffix implies. In Mid-Frisian, a person from Boarn is called a Boarnster; one from Skoat, a Skoatster, etc. This is done where a toponym yields a *–stra* family name. *–ster* is in this case the modern version of the older *–stra.* One can also speak of Boarnster *skaeinammen* or family names of the burghers of Boarn. This calls to mind the title of one of the sources of this paper, *Die Wurster Geschlechter,* 'the families of the Wurster,' that is to say, 'of the inhabitants of Land Wursten.' *–stra* is the special Mid-Frisian family name suffix of locational provenience, and is used, as I see it, to indicate family origin from:

1. a natural place, like a peat bog (Mid-Frisian *fean*) or a small, shallow lake (Mid-Frisian *poel;* oe = oo in English 'pool').

2. a man-made place, also of spatially unspecified location, like a dike (Mid-Frisian *dyk*), a mound (Mid-Frisian *terp,* cognate of German Dorf and Dutch dorp, 'village'), or a drainage sluice (Mid-Frisian *syl*).

3. a man-made place of spacially specified location, like the settlements of Oldenboorn (Mid-Frisian Aldeboarn or simply Boarn) and Oudeschoot (Mid-Frisian Aldeskoat or Skoat), whence the family names Boonstra and Schootstra are taken.

Frisian place name suffix types that are chorographically distinctive of the Dutch and German Frieslands as a whole, are:

1. *each –oog,* a common addition to the names of the Frisian Islands from the one-time island of Callantsoog in West Friesland to Norderoog, a hallig of North Friesland; 2. *–ens,* the specifically Frisian form of the Germanic *–ing* toponym suffix, extending from Callants (*oog*) to the Weser; 3. *–um* ('home'), the most universal of Frisian toponym types; and 4. *–wierde* ('–mound'), Low German in forms like *–wurt, –wort, –wörden;* but Frisian in forms like *–ward, –wert, –wierde, –warden,* stretching at least from Mid-Friesland to Land Wursten.

Frisian family names, mostly derived from patronyms, can be best distinguished by names ending in "a." Such family name suffixes of Mid-Friesland and Little Friesland (in Groningen) in the Netherlands, and East Friesland and the western half of Frisian Oldenburg in Germany, may be classified functionally as follows:

1. *–inga,* usually attached to the given name of a collective ancestor.

2. *–a, –ma, –sma;* East Frisian *–na, –sna.* All these forms are usually attached to the given name of a forebear in the sense of son.

3. *–stra,* the special Mid-Frisian family name suffix of locational provenience, like Duch and Flemish "van" ('from'). Some of this function is, however, assumed by the other forms.

4. *–sma,* the occupational family name suffix, as in Bykersma (Mid-Frisian *bijker,* 'beekeeper').

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The Mariposa Tulip

ERWIN G. GUDDE

THE FLOWERS OF THE PLANTS of the genus *Calochortus* are considered by many the most beautiful wild flowers of the North American West. The first known member of this group was found in the present state of Idaho by the Lewis and Clark expedition on its return journey. In 1814 the English botanist Pursh named the newly discovered plant *Calochortus,* from the Greek Καλός, beautiful, and Χόρτος, grass, in reference to the beautiful blossom and the grass-like leaves. In the next few decades many other species were discovered, a large proportion of them by the English botanical explorer David Douglas, for whom one species of *Calochortus* has been named, and whose name is familiar to us through one of our best known conifers, the Douglas Fir. It was Douglas who discovered and named the first species of that section of *Calochortus* now known as *Mariposa: C. luteus, C. macrocarpus, C. splendens,* and *C. venustus*—the specific names indicating that the botanist was impressed by the extraordinary beauty of these species.[1] The name "Mariposa," originally a folk name for certain of the species near the Pacific Coast, was first adopted by botanists in 1868, when Alphonso Wood applied it to one of the main subdivisions of the genus. At present twenty-one species are placed in this group, all characterized by a relatively long and narrow fruit that is usually three-angled and not winged at the angles, and by membranaceous bulb-coats.

The Spanish word *mariposa* means 'butterfly' as well as 'moth,' but all botanical reference books explain that the flower was so named because of its resemblance to a butterfly. It is uncertain when the name originated. The assumption that the name was applied in Spanish times is as unverifiable as is the belief that the Spaniards had named the *Eschscholtzia, copa de oro.* Romantic ideas were foreign to the early occupants of California, and wild

flowers were noticed by them only if they had edible fruit.[3] At any rate, no reference to the name *mariposa* for the flower in Mexican or early American times has been found so far. That the name existed before 1868 is testified by Alphonso Wood in his article "A Sketch of the Natural Order Liliacae,"[4] "This splendid flower (*C. venustus*) . . . has long been known to the native Californians by the name of Mariposa . . ."

It is very tempting to cite the great John C. Fremont as a witness that the flower was called *Mariposa* before California became United States territory and that it was so called because of its resemblance to a butterfly settling on a flower. In 1847 Fremont had acquired the title to one of the two Mexican land grants called *Las Mariposas.* In his *Memoirs* (p. 447) he gives his observation of the flowers as found near his rancho:

> The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the Chauchiles and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.—On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggests the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream.

Unfortunately we must rule out this apparently so genuine and realistic account. First, the statement is not contemporary because Fremont did not write his *Memoirs* until 1887, when the name Mariposa was already in general use; second, Fremont was mistaken in his idea that Mariposa Creek was named after the flower.

Another theory of the origin of the name has found its way into L. H. Bailey's *The Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture.* We read on page 634:

> To this group of calochortuses is properly applied the Spanish name mariposa (butterfly), for their brilliantly colored flowers, with eye-like spots on each petal and sepal, and other delicate markings with dots, lines, and hairs which are strongly suggestive of the wings of a brilliantly colored butterfly.

A similar idea which the explorer and the scholar express was given poetic wings by Ina Coolbrith sometime before 1895, that means shortly after the publication of Fremont's *Memoirs:*

> The Mariposa Lily
>
> Insect or blossom? Fragile, fairy thing,
> Poised upon slender tip, and quivering

To flight! a flower of the fields of air;
A jeweled moth; a butterfly, with rare
And tender tints upon his downy wing
A moment resting in our happy sight;
A flower held captive by a thread so slight
Its petal-wings of broidered gossamer
Are, light as the wind, with every wind astir,—
Wafting sweet odor, faint and exquisite.
O dainty nursling of the field and sky,
What fairer thing looks up to heaven's blue
And drinks the noontide sun, the dawning's dew?
Thou winged bloom! thou blossom-butterfly!

All this sounds so convincing that it seems somewhat presumptious to challenge the current version of the origin of the name of our beautiful flower. Yet, we must keep in mind that no evidence has been produced to prove that a Spaniard or a romantic American bestowed the name upon the flower, and any observant lover of flowers will have to admit that it requires some imagination to see in the cup-shaped blossom the wings of a butterfly. The spots on the petals of some mariposas, to be sure, are not unlike the "false eyes" on the wings of some butterflies. However, Fremont's imaginative picture of a butterfly settling on a flower appears much more plausible than comparing the petals of the flower to the wings of the insect.

When did the name Mariposa or Mariposas first occur in Western America? Padre Pedro Muñoz, who accompanied Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga on an expedition into the interior of California, records under date of September 27, 1806:

Llamne este Sitio de las Mariposas, por que su mucha multidud especialmente de noche y mañana . . . uno delos Cabos dela Esped. se le introdujo una en un oido Causandole demasiado molestia y no poco trabajo en la extraccion. (Diario del P. Pedro Muñoz. Transcript in Bancroft Library, University of California).—This place was called of the Mariposas because of their great multitude, especially at night and morning . . . one of the corporals of the expedition got one in one ear, causing him considerable annoyance and not little discomfort in its extraction.

From this account it is quite obvious that the insect that got into the corporal's ear was not a brilliantly colored butterfly but a nasty little moth, and in American speech, the creek would properly have to be called 'Moth Creek' and not 'Butterfly Creek. Fortunately the melodious Spanish name prevailed and gave rise

to an interesting name cluster. When in September 19, 1843, and on February 22, 1844, Mexican land grants were created in the region, the name *Las Mariposas* was naturally chosen. With that the name became perpetuated, for after the United States conquest the established and recorded names of land-grants provided the names for counties and cities as well as for mountains and streams. When California acquired statehood and the state was divided into counties (February 18, 1850) the name had already become so important that it was applied (in the singular form Mariposa) to a county, which included at first the larger part of southern California. Later the name was restricted to present Mariposa County, and the county's name was in turn applied to numerous other geographic features.

According to the latest monograph on the genus by Marion Ownbey,[5] 1940, four species of the *Mariposa* section of the genus *Calochortus* are on record in the territory of the present county: *C. Leichtlinii, C. luteus, C. superbus,* and *C. venustus;* others may occur as rarities. At least four other species are commonly found within the limits of the original Mariposa County, i.e. the territory between Merced River and Los Angeles County.

In the absence of any evidence for the current theory of the name, the assumption is permissible that the name for the flower originated sometime after the American conquest, simply because the plant was found frequently within the limits of the geographical region originally designated as Mariposa. In my opinion the sequence of naming was not entomological-botanical-geographical but entomological-geographical-botanical. In other words, if this theory is correct, the botanical as well as the folk name of this section of the genus *Calochortus* is not even indirectly connected with a butterfly, for the *mariposas* that gave rise to the geographical name were not gaudy butterflies but lowly night insects.

NOTES

1. *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London,* VII 275ff.
2. For the botanical angle of this article the author is indebted to Thomas Morley.
3. Morley called the author's attention to the fact that in Mexico three different plants, none of them a Calochortus, are called Mariposa, according to M. Martinez, *Catalogo alfabetico de nombres vulgares y cientificos de plantas que existen en Mexico* (1923).
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Place Name Literature, United States and Canada, 1952-1954

P. A. SEELY, R. B. SEALOCK

This list is a supplement to Sealock and Seely, *Bibliography of Place Name Literature,* published in 1948 by the American Library Association. A second supplement, covering the years 1949–1952 will be published in the near future. Readers are kindly requested to send additions and corrections to Pauline A. Seely, Public Library, Denver 2, Colorado, or Richard B. Sealock, Public Library, Kansas City 6, Missouri.

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2. The dignified, requiring a prefix: Mr. McLardy, Sir Cedric Hardwicke.
3. The alliterative: Greer Garson, Claudette Colbert.
4. The repetitive: Simone Simon.
5. The "weapons" handle: Lance Fuller, Whip Wilson, Lash LaRue, Rock Hudson.
6. The picturesque: Gale Storm, Carolina Cotton, Sunset Carson.
7. The initialed group, including Edward G. Robinson, Jack E. Leonard, K. T. Stevens (Miss).
8. The three name group: Carl Benton Reid, James Robertson Justice, Jean Pierre Aumont.
9. The nickname contingent. Among them, George "Foghorn" Winslow.
10. Actresses with "Jr." after their names, as Aline Stanley, Jr.
11. Those who take their names from a character they portray, i.e. Donna Lee Hickey, who is now known as May Wynn, thanks to "The Caine Mutiny."
12. Those whose names rhyme, like Fay Wray.
13. Actresses such as Judy Garland, who were rechristened for the screen. Judy was born Frances Gumm.

Literature on Personal Names in English, 1954

ELSDON O. SMITH

It will be appreciated if members will call my attention to items I have missed, and also to items in 1955 for the next annual installment of this bibliography.

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Conner, Wayne, Balzac's Frenhofer in *Modern Language Notes,* Vol. 69, May, 1954, pp. 335–338.

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News, Comments, Queries

The International Congress at Salamanca

The fifth meeting of the International Congress of the Onomastic Sciences, held at the University of Salamanca on April 12–15, was most successful. More than 200 delegates from some 25 countries were in attendance. The organizing committee, consisting chiefly of members of the faculty of the University, deserves much credit for a task well done. In the absence of its students on Easter vacation, all the facilities of the University were placed at the disposal of the delegates, who deeply appreciated the many courtesies extended to them.

Working sessions of the various sections were held on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, with a final plenary session on Friday morning. More than 80 papers on a wide variety of subjects were presented to the Congress. Of noteworthy interest was the increased attention to the practical everyday use of names on maps, exemplified by the establishment of a section (No. VI), not originally planned for, that is devoted to the consideration of the international standardization of geographic names.

Entertainment provided for the delegates included an opening reception by the rector of the University, Dr. Tovar, on Monday evening, and a noon reception by the provincial governor and staff on Tuesday, with folk dances by both men and women in the striking local costumes, among the most elaborate in all Spain. On Wednesday there was a most enjoyable "fraternity luncheon," with a concert in the evening. Late Thursday afternoon the entire Congress was taken by bus for a picnic party at a large farm about 35 miles southwest of Salamanca, where bulls are raised for some of the principal arenas in Spain. On Friday afternoon there was a colorful ceremony for the conferring of an honorary degree on our charter member, H. J. van de Wijer of Belgium, general secretary of CISO, and for the decoration of ten members of the Congress with the Grand Cross of the Order of Alfonso X, "El Sabio," the early Spanish ruler who did most to start the University on its

long and successful career when he endowed twelve lectureships in 1254, the date from which the 700th anniversary of the University was celebrated in 1954. Our president, Meredith F. Burrill was one of the recipients of this decoration, the others being from Belgium, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Turkey.

The exhibit of works dealing with onomastic and linguistic subjects was most complete, and merited much more time than could be devoted to it. At future congresses our Society should endeavor to present a larger and more representative contribution to this sort of exhibit.

It was not until March that the Department of State decided to send an official delegation to the Congress, consisting of Dr. Meredith F. Burrill, Executive Secretary of the Board on Geographic Names and President of the ANS, and Lewis Heck, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the latter having previously been named to represent the Society before any designation of official delegates. The principal American contribution to the success of the Congress was the sustained effort by Dr. Burrill to bring about the realization of the aims set forth in the resolution presented by the American delegates at Uppsala, Sweden, in 1952 (see page 52 of Vol. I, No. 1 of *Names,* March, 1953). He presented a paper on "Some Considerations in International Standardization of Geographic Names," and with the cooperation of British, Canadian, and French representatives secured the final adoption by the Congress of a resolution calling for an international commission, with subcommissions as may be necessary and possible, to study this whole field and to present a report on its activities at the next Congress, to be held at München, Germany, in 1958.

LEWIS HECK

The fifth International Congress on Onomastic Sciences in Salamanca was a notable one, as will be evident from the report of our Society's official delegate, Lewis Heck. The setting at one of the oldest universities in Europe, whose intellectual up-to-dateness was immediately apparent, was most appropriate for a congress that looks to both past and present. The organization of the affairs of the Congress was superb. The schedule for each day was distributed during the preceding afternoon, listing all sessions, speakers, those

presiding, place of meeting and special events. The schedules were followed with seldom any hitch or confusion. The hospitality was delightful, the special events being in excellent taste and of a sort to foster the feeling of fellowship that permeated the entire meeting. We could not have had more gracious, thoughtful hosts. The Rector, Dr. Tovar, not only set the *muy simpatico* tone but also participated actively in the Congress. The climax of the Congress was the investiture of Professor van de Wijer with the regalia of Doctor honoris causa. The University of Salamanca thus extended recognition to an able and beloved scholar and, implicitly, to the field of onomastics and all who have searched for truth in it. It was also gratifying to note that the American Name Society is widely known and highly regarded abroad. *Names* has already acquired an enviable reputation.

MEREDITH F. BURRILL

Garden Philosopher.—This is the title of the most recent writing of our charter member, Charles M. Goethe. In his charming style, spiced with sly humor, he reveals a phase of his rich and productive life, namely his enjoyment in the gardens of the world from the luxurious Wisteria–Lotus–Iris complex in Japan to the modest window boxes with geraniums and nasturiums in the Hans Sachs house in Nurnberg. We should not say "his" enjoyment—Mr. Goethe speaks throughout of "We-two" including his departed life partner, Mary Glide Goethe, whose name is commemorated in one of the most beautiful stands of redwoods in California.

A "garden philosopher," it must be understood, is not a man who philosophizes in gardens or about gardening. With a keen eye Goethe observes everything connected with nature, and trees, eugenics and biology, genetics and soils. His knowledge of the ways of this world and his compass of interest is truly astonishing. Naturally, his interest also includes names, in this case especially botanical names. He fits the names of the Bougainvillea, the Begonia, the Fuchsia, the Eschscholtzia into their historical settings. He explains why the yucca is called the century plant and tells us that the Chinese call the Gingko "duck's foot-leaf tree," as clumsy a name as our "maiden-hair fern tree" but certainly much more descriptive. A passage is devoted to "Mimetic Bird Names in Gardens."

All in all a delightful book, showing the unimpaired intellectual capacity of an octogenarian.

Louise Pound honored.—Our sponsor and charter member Professor Louise Pound is the president for 1955 of the Modern Language Association—the first time in the many years of existence of the Association that a woman was elected to the high office.

In Honor of H. J. van de Wijer.—The thirtieth volume of *Mededelingen* published by the Vereniging voor Naamkunde to Leuven and the Commissie voor Naamkunde to Amsterdam, is a *Feestnummer* in honor of H. J. van de Wijer, secretary general of the international committee on onomastics and a charter member of the A.N.S. The volume opens with an article, *Tien jaar naamkunde te Leuven* by H. Draye and K. Roelandts, an account of Mr. van de Wijer's activities as a pioneer in the field of name research. It is followed by a list of publications from 1944 to 1954, continuing the bibliography which was contained in the *Feestbundel,* published in van de Wijer's honor at the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his connection with the University of Leuven. Among the other interesting articles in the volume we note several of a universal nature: K. Roelandts and M. Schönfeld, *Naamkundige terminologie,* and J. de Wilde, *Toponymie en literatuurgeschiedenis.*

Names in American Limericks.—Anent C. Grant Loomis' article in the December issue. Albuquerque: I cannot recall anything but a four-syllable pronunciation.—Chicago. The pronunciation to rhyme with *paw go* was in my recollection, going back to 1900, the ordinary one, but natives fifty years ago were inclined toward *shee-kah-gah,* rhyming with *bah.* This is, I think, the original Indian pronunciation. One heard all kinds of variant pronunciations of the city name. I have even heard *Chick-a-gó* from Easterners.—Dubuque. I never heard anything but *iu,* rhyming with *cuke.* I imagine the took-shook rhymes came from the man who called Houston St. in New York City, Howston.—Ottawa, Kansas. I never heard called Ottaway. I don't know about the other two.—Passaic. Mrs. Starck's grandmother Todd, born in Newark in 1840, always

said: *á-ic.* In this case, the cake-limerick may be from a Westerner.—Terre Haute. The name in my memory was always pronounced to rhyme with caught.—Butte. I never heard it, even by natives pronounced other than *iú,* to rhyme with cute, so shoot is an instance of approximation.

TAYLOR STARCK

"Bull" Durham or Bull Durham?—I was probably mistaken in my parenthetical remark associating the brand name "Bull" Durham with the breed of cattle, which appeared in my comment "Cattle Nomenclature" (*Names,* March, 1955). I do not know anything about the naming of "Bull" Durham. I was just misled by the extensive use of the representation of a bull in advertising the tobacco a generation or so ago. According to the label the product is simply "Genuine Durham Smoking Tobacco," although the tag is inscribed "Bull Durham." It seems likely that Durham, North Carolina, where the tobacco was originally processed, was the inspiration for the brand name.

Who has factual information about the naming of "Bull" Durham?

R. D. ROBERTS

Acteon's Dogs.—My reading of D. T. Starnes' "Acteon's Dogs" (*Names,* III, 19–25) coincided with my page-turning of a seventeenth-century Latin-English Dictionary (*Thomae Thomasii Dictionarium,* etc. . . . decima quarta editio, ex officina Johannis Legati, 1644. Actually, this work is an enlargement of Philemon Holland's compilation, 1614; 2nd ed., 1630). The Junius-Higgins *Nomenclator* (1585) seems to have been incorporated into this dictionary with only slight variations. Usually the same references appear with the notation, *nomen canis.* All names find record except *Oribasus* and *Pterelas.* Variants in translation are: *Hylactor & Hylax:* Ring instead of Ringer; *Melaneus & Melancetes:* the last added from Ovid's list; *Nephrobonus* appears as *Nebrophonus* (Cf. Ovid); *Podargus* is translated as Swift foot; while *Poeminii* (Ovid, *Poemenis*) translates as Shepheards dogge. Under *Tigris* (Ovid), in addition to the meaning, tiger adds: also flight, but does not note *nomen canis.*

C. GRANT LOOMIS

Book Reviews

Contributions à l'étude de l'onomastique pélasgique. By A. J. Van Windekens. (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1954. Pp. 74 + addendum 1.)

This is one of those scientific gropings, always interesting and alluring, to penetrate into the subsoil of known linguistic terrain in order to find buried in overlying speeches the remains of dead languages displaced in remote, preliterary periods.

The author treats a number of familiar personal names, toponyms, and "hydronyms," together with some animal and plant names, virtually all of them accepted as non-Greek. The language uncovered is a pre-Hellenic tongue, Pelasgian, taken to be an Indo-European language. The investigator envisages the area of this speech as distributed into two divisions: an Eastern, in Asia Minor, and a Western, in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece proper. From Pelasgian Greek borrowed terms of civilisation in various domains.

There are dialectic divergences, as illustrated in two forms of a suffix: *-νθ-* and *-νδ-*. The author contends that both forms are found in either zone, and that the names Κόρινθος, Corinth, and (Apollo) Smintheús, and Smyrna (ancient name of the city of Euphesus) show the suffix mentioned.

Rejecting the hitherto proposed etymology of 'ouse-(killer)' for Apollo's epithet he sees a root *sam, sm–*'height' in these as well as in Samos and considers the title as being based on the toponym. The suffix just discussed is also found in the Latin *calendae,* the author contends, – of Pelasgian origin, from a dialect spoken in Italy. This, of course, contradicts the etymology of the dictionaries.

The author argues that κολοκύνθη, 'pumpkin,' rests on I.-E. root **gel,* 'roll, cylinder.' Here he places κολοσσός, 'statue'–contrary to previously accepted etymologies. Κυβερνάω, 'steer' (a ship, chariot) shows the characteristic suffix *-νη-* and betrays its Pelasgian origin.

The name of the Corybantes, attendants and priests of Cybele, is non-Greek and goes back to the element κυρβ, 'pointed summit,' according to the author. The meaning of the name is 'having a

headdress in the form of a point.' The original suffix is *-νθ-* or *-νδ-* (I.-E. *nt*), discussed above. They are Phrygian priests and the author concludes that the original form is *κυρβανδες*, showing an Asia Minor form of the suffix, signifying 'concerning, provided with.' The change from *nd* to *nt* is a Greek adaptation. The name of the Phrygians themselves, to accept the author's argument, contains the I.–E. root **bher,* 'move rapidly.' The form used by the Greeks was borrowed from Thraco-Phrygian. The speakers of this tongue underwent the influence of the Pelasgians in religion, so that they too became performers of holy dances in imitation of dancing demons. Hence the name.

An element *karp* in *κάρπαθος* is a pre-Hellenic toponym. It signifies 'mountain' (I.-E. *ger* + *b*, 'turn, roll').

Καύκασος the author accepts as an adaptation of *κρούκασις*, probably of I.-E.—Indian—origin, to toponyms. The basic idea is 'mountain.' The form is Pelasgian, according to the author. The name of the pre-Helenic people mentioned in Homer, *Καύκωνες* would therefore mean 'mountaineers.'

Toponyms having the element *lep, lap* the author connects with Latin *lapis,* 'stone,' supposed by some to be of "Mediterranean" provenance. Here belongs *λέπας*, 'bare rock.' Meillet rejected this. The author regards *lep, lap* as undeniably Indo-European.

The idea of 'water,' 'river,' appears in *Ἀμνισός* (Cretan), Latin *amnis.* The author insists upon the root *am,* 'water' and includes *ἀμάρα*, 'trench,' attested as early as the Iliad. Another root for 'water' appears in *Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς*, also *Ἀχέρων*–Latin *aqua.*

In the toponym Salamis is seen a root, hitherto thought restricted to Teutonic: **swalm, *sulm,* present in hydronyms. The root idea is 'swell,' 'wave,' 'undulation.' *Sar-ser,* 'flow,' suggesting 'water,' 'sea,' occurs in Surrentum, a maritime city of Campania-Sorrento.

In the name Icarus the author isolates an element, the basic signification of which is 'timber.' The element occurs in the name of an island, 'rich in timber,' as well as in the name of the son of Daedalus. A derivative is *ἴκριον* (*ἴκρια*), 'piece of vertical wood,' 'platform,' etc. Icarus was, in Greek legend, the first sculptor (wood worker).

Σίφνος, name of an island and city, is connected with *σίφων*, ac-

cording to the author. The words are Pelasgian and the idea is 'gape,' then 'empty.' Also of this root is χώρα, 'place.'

The investigator views Pelasgian as an occidental Indo-European language occupying a "position intermediate between Germanic and Balto-Slavic."

If his painstaking work is found to have led to correct findings and conclusions, he has gathered information on the nominal formation in Pelasgian and has added to a knowledge of the hitherto obscure comparative grammar of that language.

EPHRAIM CROSS

The City College of New York

Origin of Heraldry (Also of Miscellaneous Surnames and Insignia). By CALVIN KEPHART (Washington, Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., 1953. Pp. xi, 136, $2.50.)

This is the second edition, much enlarged from the first which appeared in 1938 with the title of *Origin of Armorial Insignia in Europe,* to which has been added: Part B. Miscellaneous Surnames and Insignia.

In the first eighty-one pages the author discusses the origin of heraldry in Europe when the knights returned from the Crusades to the time that armorial bearings became hereditary by the end of the twelfth century. Armorial insignia originated as a means of identification in warfare, simultaneous with, or perhaps slightly before, the origin of surnames, and had some influence on them as well as being influenced by them.

In the second part Colonel Kephart tells about the origin of family names in Europe, with particular reference to the von Erlach family, concerning which he had previously done important genealogical research. The different surnames adopted by this family are mentioned. As a genealogist Colonel Kephart approaches the subject from that angle rather than from that of philology.

ELSDON C. SMITH

ANS Notes

The Mary Glide Goethe Prize.—In the New York meeting in December 1954, the Board of Managers decided to award the prize for 1955 to the best contribution in the field of onomatology published in *Names* in the four issues between December, 1954, and September, 1955. This action was taken with the consent of the donor. The members of the *ANS* will have a chance to express their choice when the ballots for the 1956 election are sent out in November. Members who have suggestions concerning the method of award of the prize in future years are urgently requested to communicate with the executive secretary.

New Members and Subscribers

Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademii, Amsterdam (c), Niewe Hoogstraat 17, Netherlands

Dr. Doris Benardete, Gunnison, Colorado

Patrick J. M. Geelan, Royal Geographic Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London SW 7 (Geographical names)

Niedersächsische Staats–und Universitäts–Bibliothek, Prinzenstr. 1, Göttingen, Germany

Richard N. Hall, 5914 Wilmett Road, Bethesda 14, Md.

Helen Mary Hayes, 1035 So. 17th, Apt. C-7, Lincoln 2, Nebraska

Walter C. Kraft, Dept. of Modern Languages, Oregon State College, Corvallis, Oregon. (Names of Oregon, Washington, Alaska)

David Lindsay, 9332 Fair Road, Berea, Ohio

Modern Language Association, 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N.Y.

New York University Libraries, Washington Square Library, 100 Washington Square East, New York 3, N.Y.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

University of Oklahoma Library, Order Department, Norman, Okla.

Queens Borough Public Library, Periodicals Division, 89–14 Parsons Blvd., Jamaica 2, N.Y.

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Temple University Library, Acquisitions Division, Philadelphia 22, Pa.

Antonio Tovar, Universidad, Salamanca, Spain

ALLAN

Allan is a surname from the Old Breton baptismal name, *Alan,* of doubtful origin. Significations of 'all men,' 'a hound,' and 'cheerful' have been suggested, but all of these are probably only hopeful guesses. A popular Cornish or Breton Saint of the sixth century (Elian or Allan) stimulated its popularity. The name was introduced into England at the time of the Norman Conquest, notably by *Alain* Fergéant, Count of Brittany and *Alain* le Roux, first Earl of Richmond. In Domesday Book it is *Alann* (Norfolk). Alan has also been popular in Scotland where it has been confused with the old Gaelic name, *Ailéne* or *Ailin.* Under the spelling *Allen* the surname is popular all over England and is among the twenty-five most common surnames in the United States. Nathaniel Bowditch found that the surname could be spelled in 141 different ways.

BRYANT

This is an English and Irish family name from the Celtic *Bryan* or *Brian,* a hypocoristic form of *bre,* meaning 'hill,' with the common excrescent *-t.* From very early times *Brian* or *Bryan* has been a favorite name in Ireland on account of Brian Boraimhe, their hero king, who was slain while defeating the Danes at the battle of Clontarf, near Dublin. In the Middle Ages it was quite popular in the South of England, where it was brought in from Brittany during the Norman Conquest. After the eighteenth century the forename fell into disuse and came to be regarded as a purely Irish name. Domesday Book lists two with the name *Brian.* Bryant is found in the South of England while the spelling Bryan is more common in the central part.

DROEGE

A Low German family name, spelled Droog, Drooge, Droge in the Netherlands, Dröge in Germany. The word for "dry" in Dutch is "droog." "Dry" in German is "trocken." The similarity of Dutch "droog" to its umlauted dialect counterpart, and the lack thereof of German "trocken," may account for the fact that the umlaut is retained in the official written name in Germany, but only in the spoken dialect form in the Netherlands.

The family name Dröge could have been derived from a word other than "dry." Instead, it may be an etymological offshoot of proto-Germanic "dreugan," 'to endure,' 'to accomplish.' In the case of Geart B.

Droege the anthroponym had its home in Flögeln, where everybody's last name is Dröge. This ancient Chauki settlement lies seven miles east of (East Frisian) Land Wursten. Our member and contributor belongs to the Frisian branch of the Dröges, his father having been born in Lehe, the Wurster part of Bremerhaven. In Flögeln itself the Low German Dröges have for centuries mixed with the Frisians of the Wurster Marsch.

GREET

Greet is an English name meaning 'great' or 'large,' from Middle English *gret, grete, greet.* Middle English *grete* also meant 'weeping,' but this definition undoubtedly did not enter into the formation of the surname, Greet. Chaucer used the spelling *greet* about the time that surnames were becoming fixed with the meaning of 'big.' Descriptive surnames referring to size are common and are found in almost all languages. When size was the most noticeable feature, a person was almost sure to acquire a nickname signifying that fact, and our member's ancestor was no exception. Surnames are only nicknames used for identification.

MOFFIT

When a man moved from the place where he was born and brought up to another locality he was likely to be identified by reference to his former home. Thus, this is a Scotch family name that refers to the man who came from Moffatt, a town in Annandale, in Dumfriesshire. In England, as one would expect, it is found chiefly in the most northern counties. Under the form *Mufet* the name is recorded before 1232. The place name is from Old Gaelic, locative case, *mo feta,* Gaelic, *magh fada,* meaning 'long plain,' a description of the site.

SEELY

Seely is a descriptive surname and referred originally to the happy or prosperous one, from Old English *sælig.* The Middle English form was *sely,* later *seely,* meaning 'happy,' 'blessed,' 'simple,' 'humble,' which evolved into our modern *silly,* 'foolish' or 'stupid.' However, the surname seems to carry chiefly the earlier and more felicitous connotations, although the word also began to have the meaning of 'simple' or 'innocent' during the rise of English surnames. Chaucer uses the word *sely* more than once and always in the sense of 'good,' 'simple,' 'innocent.' The *sely* man, simple and unwary, was no match for those who would cheat him at every turn, and thus the world changed the meaning from *sely,* 'innocent,' to our modern *silly.* There are, of course, various spellings of the name, but this is the most common. The spellings *Sealey* and *Sealy* are confined mostly to Somersetshire in England.

TAUBE

Taube appeared only on official documents such as birth certificates and visas. Among old-country friends and relatives the name is Duve (pronounced *dūv*), which stems from the Low German of the Danzig area. The interpretation has always been 'dove.'

Throughout the ages the dove has stood for peace and innocence. It seems reasonable, then, that a person known for his mildness of manner might have this noun associated with him, so for instance the *Heinrich gen- Taube* Henry called Taube of a 13th century South German document. If *gen.* were omitted, Taube could readily develop into a family name. *Dyveke* of Amsterdam (*ca.* 1490–1517), also known as *Columbula,* possessed so much charm that she won the love of a Danish prince, a romance which has inspired a number of dramas and novels. Comparing a sweetheart with a dove goes back to Solomon at least. *Duifke* little dove was rather frequently bestowed upon Dutch girl babies at the baptismal font.

An Italian explorer, Cristoforo Colombo, has brought greatest fame to the name. In the first German work describing the discovery of America he appears as Christoffel Dawber. A particularly appropriate bearer of the name, in view of its symbolic reference to peace, was Columba, an Irish monk who labored among the South Germans during the 7th century.

Editor's Page

The inclusion of two lengthy bibliographies in one issue may seem unfortunate. However, the publication of current bibliographies is important for our field of study and the sooner the annual crop is gathered and made available the better these bibliographies fulfill their purpose. Both bibliographies are continuations of standard works: Elsdon C. Smith, *Personal Names: A Bibliography* (New York Public Library, 1953), and Sealock & Seely, *Bibliography of Place Name Literature* (The American Library Association, 1948). There is a slight difference of style in the individual items of the two bibliographies. As long as there is no confusion or misunderstanding the style is the responsibility of the authors of articles, not of the editor. It can not be repeated often enough that bibliographies can approach perfection only if readers show enough interest to supply the compilers with corrections and additions.

Edward Taube's article on Algonquian tribal names is a contribution to a phase of name research in which the *ANS* is especially interested. Future issues will contain other articles on names derived from the indigenous tribes of this continent, including another contribution by Mr. Taube on Algonquin place names. Edward Taube is a native of Winnipeg, Canada. His interest in place names was first aroused when he studied German philology at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of numerous articles published in national magazines. Since 1948 he has been associated with the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, teaching geography at the Racine Center.

The extent and importance of Frisian culture is mirrored in its names. Geart B. Droege's article presents an interesting illustration of this. Mr. Droege is a charter member of the *ANS*. He is at present working for his Ph.D. degree in geography.

Jack A. Dabbs is already well known to our readers. *Cf.* September, 1953 issue of *Names*, pp. 224f. This article is an enlarged version of a paper read at the Chicago (1953) meeting of the *ANS*.

My little contribution to the naming of one of our most beautiful western wild flowers should have been published under the joint authorship of Professor Thomas Morley of the Universitiy of Minnesota as well as mine. He supplied generously from his knowledge of western botany but did not agree with my theory. The question is naturally a controversial one and more research will be necessary to establish either theory.

TIME IN LITERATURE

By Hans Meyerhoff

A penetrating treatment of time in literature and its relationship to science and philosophy. Although not restricted to a particular period, most references are to twentieth-century writers such as Joyce, Proust, Virginia Woolf, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Mann, and Thomas Wolfe. $3.50

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Introduction by A. L. Kroeber

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The Americanization of Greek Names

JAMES E. ALATIS

On Tuesday, February 10, 1953, the following article appeared in the *Columbus Dispatch:*

> CHICOPEE, MASS., A young student leaving for induction Friday may get out of some unpleasant Army chores for what may be the reluctance of first sergeants to call out his name.
>
> He is Lambros A. Pappatoriantafillospoulous.
>
> However, word may get around before he is long in the Army that he'd answer if called Pappas or even Mr. Alphabet. He said his friends sometime call him one or the other of those names.

To most of the *Dispatch's* subscribers, this was just another funny story involving an unusual name that belongs to someone else. But, to anyone who is familiar with the Greek language, or with the names of Greek people in America, the story has a significance which goes far beyond the realm of its admittedly inherent humor.

In the first place, "Mr. Alphabet's" surname has probably been misspelled. The first *o* and the first *s* in the name were inserted either through typographical error or in a deliberate attempt to cause the name to appear even more absurd than it already is. The correct spelling is probably *Pappatriantafillopoulos,* which is a transliteration of Παπατριανταφυλλόπουλος. Translated into English, this means 'the son of reverend (priest) Triantafillos.' In turn, "Triantafillos" is derived from the Greek word for 'rose.'

That such a name should give trouble to anyone who has occasion to write or read it, or indeed, to its owner, does not come as a great surprise. At first sight, even to attempt to pronounce it seems inconceivably difficult. But, the word *alphabet* is also of Greek origin and is derived from the names of the first two Greek letters, alpha and beta. Although this gives us a clue as to how to arrive at the pronunciation of Greek names, there remains the problem of accent. There are entirely too many syllables in *Pappatriantafillopoulos* to make it easily adaptable to the speech habits of the English and Americans. It would seem that the logical thing to do is to abbreviate the name to Pappas or to change it completely into something more familiar, like *Alphabet,* for instance.

In the article cited, the given name *Lambros* is itself quite unusual. It is derived from the adjective λαμπρός, 'bright'; the accent has been shifted to the first syllable and the first letter capitalized to give Λάμπρος, from which *Lambros* is derived by transliteration and phonetic respelling.

Do we dare conjecture as to what the "A." of Mr. Alphabet's middle name represents? It is probably the name of his father which in Greek would take the genitive ending -ου indicating that *Lambros* is the 'son of' *Adamantios, Athanasios. Anastasios,* or *Alexandros.* In English, the middle name is written

in the nominative case to conform with the pattern of English or American middle names. Among the Greeks in America, the middle name is usually adopted as a means of differentiating cousins who are all named after the same paternal grandparent and therefore have the same first and last names. This is generally true with respect to female cousins as well, thus producing some peculiar sounding girls' names. To avoid such anomalies as, for example, "Mary Theodore Pappas," girls of Greek descent often merely abbreviate their middle name, using only the first letter as Mr. Alphabet, for some other reason, has done. Often, when the girls are pressed to reveal the significance of their middle initial, they just good-naturedly change the gender of the masculine name and give Theodor*a* or some analogous name as their middle name.

The Columbus telephone directory lists twenty-five Pappas's; and this does not include the students at Ohio State University. Probably none of them is even remotely related to Mr. Alphabet. Nevertheless, to these readers of the *Columbus Dispatch,* his story was probably in some way reminiscent of similar situations which no doubt prompted them to shorten their own names to Pappas. For example, their names were probably often misspelled just as Mr. Alphabet's was. The inconvenience which many of their names caused their American friends and neighbors is one of the primary factors that motivated the Greek people to adopt shorter, more euphonious names. The parish register of the Greek Orthodox Church in Columbus contains the names of over three hundred Greek families. What are some of the names which Greek-Americans bear? How did these names originate? How are they pronounced? What do they mean? How have they been changed from Greek to American-English? What are the cultural implications of such changes? It is the purpose of this article to answer these questions.

As I have already indicated the sources for the material which will be examined in this thesis are: the parish register of the Greek Orthodox Church "Annunciation," the telephone directory of the City of Columbus, and a list of students of Greek descent obtained from the Council on Religious Affairs at Ohio State University.

For the sake of scientific objectivity the phonetic transcriptions of the American pronunciations will represent the speech of Mr. George Chakeres rather than my own. Mr. Chakeres was the first child of Greek parentage to have been born in Columbus and has always been active in the affairs of the Greek community. Therefore, he is old enough to know the older generation and young enough not to have a "Greek accent." To my judgment, he is more likely than anyone else to give us a "standard" pronunciation without our running into the dangers of personal pride and affectation. The transcriptions of the Greek pronunciations will represent the speech of Mr. Michael Giannaros, who is a graduate of the University of Athens and is, therefore, well qualified to give us the correct pronunciation of the Modern Greek language.

By thus taking the pronunciation of a single individual for each language, we have what amounts to a control experiment in constant operation; we are maintaining identical conditions except for one varied factor, the factor of languages. In this way the two languages can be more accurately compared and their causal significance inferred. Furthermore, we can thus avoid the mistake of confusing mere dialectical differences with true phonemic substitution.

I am further indebted to Mr. Giannaros for his priceless assistance in the derivation of many names whose meanings are idiomatic and are based upon

dialectical connotations. There are also many words of Turkish origin which are not listed in the few available Modern Greek-English dictionaries. These words, however, have been sufficiently assimilated into the spoken language as to be easily identified, if not understood, by a native Greek. What has made Mr. Giannaros particularly valuable is the fact that he is a graduate of Ohio State University as well as the University of Athens, and therefore has been able to explain in English whatever my limited knowledge of Greek prevented me from understanding.

The dearth of reliable dictionaries made it necessary to have four hundred questionnaires mimeographed by which information pertaining to the names in the appendix was solicited. The first one hundred questionnaires were sent to those members of the Columbus parish who live out-of-town, and to those who live in Columbus but are not listed in the telephone directory; of these questionnaires, only fifteen were returned. Since the results through the mail were so discouraging, it became necessary to complete many of the remaining questionnaires through telephone conversations and personal communications.

Fortunately, I had already received a list of three hundred and twenty-five names written in Greek, with their English equivalents, from Reverend George Zoganas. Many of those names belonged to the people who were called upon for supplementary information. The fact that I already knew their names in Greek and could speak their language turned out to be a great advantage. Sensitive as most people are about their names, these people were justifiably suspicious as to the purpose of my inquiries. After a brief explanation, however, they generally became very cooperative (sometimes too cooperative).

At least two hundred people were spoken to on the telephone; of these, questionnaires were filled out for one hundred and twenty-three. At least fifty people were spoken to personally (although questionnaires were filled out for only twenty-five). Another hundred questionnaires were later mailed to people who could not be contacted, but the results were just as discouraging as before. However, I was still able to use the list which the local priest had given me to answer at least my first question for each of the original three hundred and twenty-five names.

The questions were phrased in such a way as to divulge: the name of the husband in Greek and English, the maiden name of the wife in Greek and English, the meanings of the surnames, the given-names of children in Greek and English, the meanings of the given-names, how middle names are bestowed, the geographical area in Greece in which the surname originated, reasons for changing or not changing the name, and how the name was changed.

The last four questions were particularly effective in revealing the social and cultural implications in name changing, and the psychological processes involved as people changed or did not change their names. The first five questions served to indicate the method whereby the written forms of the names were changed. The primary method was that of transliteration. Then there were the clippings: terminal, medial and initial. There were a few cases of what may be called *metathesis*. Some names were translated directly or approximately from Greek to English. Others were radically changed in an arbitrary and irrational manner. Some phonetic respellings were obvious to see, but for the most part, the phonetic adaptations from Greek to American-English were to be observed only by comparing the pronunciations of the names in each of the two languages.

When the first Greek immigrants began to trickle into the United States, about the first thing that impressed them, or rather, was impressed upon them, was the fact that their names were entirely too long to suit the efficiency of literary and spoken American-English. Starting at Ellis Island and proceeding down to the time when the first Greeks were beginning to become naturalized Americans, a constant pressure was exerted upon them by social, economic, and political forces to change their names to something more easily pronounceable, easier to write, and short enough to accommodate the business machines which made out their paychecks. Thus, the Greek immigrant found himself torn between his deeply ingrained theories of national and family tradition, and the desire to adjust and "belong" to the new and strange society by which he was now surrounded.

A part of the tradition with which the Greek immigrant wishfully identified himself was what he considered to be a social as well as biological heritage from the Greeks of antiquity. His national pride refused to allow him to believe that he was anything short of a direct lineal descendant of Alexander the Great, or even Homer. One of the things that only served to augment his pride in the "glory that was Greece" was the fact that the Greek alphabet had been adapted by the Romans and handed on, with slight modification, to general European use.

To the newly arrived Greek, Hellenic influence was well illustrated by the fact that there were many characters of the "American" alphabet whose written form was analogous to the letters of the Greek alphabet. On the other hand, for those Greek letters which did not have an English (Roman) analogue, he discovered that there were combinations of letters which could be used to approximate, if not to imitate exactly, the sounds which those Greek letters represented. Thus, he realized that his name could be changed into English by transliteration or phonetic respelling, or by combinations of these two processes.

Depending upon the degree to which the Greek immigrant wished to assimilate to his new cultural environment, and upon his ability to distinguish phonemic differences, he respelled his

name according to the phonemic pattern of the American language. Also depending upon the degree to which he wished to assimilate, he decided to change his name even more by shortening it, by juggling its component letters around, or by translating it directly or approximately into American-English. When and if he finally decided that he was not going back to Greece, he might adopt a name that would unquestionably identify him as an "American."

Probably the most obvious method of changing a name from one language to another is by simply translating it literally or approximately from the original, or from the meaning of one of its component parts. Thus, Mr. *Foteinos,* from *foteinos,* 'luminous, lucid, clear,' becomes Mr. *Brilliant.* A man by the name of *Chrysoules,* (from *chryso,* 'gold, golden,' and the diminutive suffix *-oules* denoting 'dear, little, or son of') becomes *Golding. Petrakis* (from the proper noun *Petros,* 'Peter' and the diminutive ending *-akis* also denoting 'dear, little, or son of') becomes *Peterson.* Mrs. *Ioannou* (from *Ioannes* 'John,' and the genitive ending *-ou,* meaning 'son of,') becomes Mrs. *Johnson;* similarly, *Giannakopoulos,* [from *Giannes* (the short form of *Ioannes*)] when combined with the patronymic suffix *-poulos,* 'son,' becomes *Johnson.*

An example of an approximate translation is the name *Pegadiotes* (from *pegadi,* 'well') which becomes *Wellman;* although this is a close enough translation, the ethnic suffix *-ites* would indicate that Mr. *Wellman's* ancestors were citizens of the village of *Pegadia.* An example of partial translation is the name *Diamantides* (from *diamanti,* 'diamond,' and the diminutive suffix *-ides,* 'son') which simply becomes *Diamond.* Similarly, *Mastorides* (from *mastores,* 'master, artist') may become either *Masterson* or just *Masters.* This latter name also has phonetic similarity to recommend it; it is usually pronounced [mæstɛr'Iidəs] or [mæstɛr'aIdəs], hence ['mæstərz]. Very rarely, we find a partial translation by analogy with a language foreign to both Greek and English. Such an example is *Soterovich,* from *Soteropoulos* (from *Soterios* and *-poulos,* 'son of').

Not all Greek names are suitable to translation, however. *Mauromates* (from *mauro,* 'black,' and *mati,* 'eye') would literally, as well as figuratively, "give a man's name a black-eye." Similarly, the name *Pikras* (from *pikra,* 'bitterness') would be a "bitter pill to swallow," and the name *Sfekas* (from *sfeka,* 'hornet, wasp') would

have an unpleasant "sting" to it if translated. People with names such as those just mentioned would find translation an unsuitable method of changing their names and would therefore have to resort to some other way of finding an appropriate appellative for themselves.

A university student whose name is *Triantafyllides,* from *triantafyllon,* 'rose' (from *trianta,* 'thirty,' and *fyllon,* 'leaf'), prefers not to change his name because of family pride and respect of the family name, despite the frequent practice among his friends, of calling him Gus (from *Constantinos*) Rose, or *Gus Tri* ['*trIi*]. Thus many Greek names retain their original form in transliteration. Indeed, some Greeks will not hesitate to add a letter to their names, as in *Poulimenakes* from *Polymenakes.*

The system of transliteration used in this article is to a large extent followed by American Greeks depending upon acquaintance or lack of acquaintance with the "conventional system" of transliteration as depicted in the Greek-English-English-Greek dictionaries issued by such companies as the *National Herald* and *D. C. Divry.*[1] Some of the variations result from the equating of all the Greek letters which represent the Greek [i] sound with the English letter *i* which looks like the Greek ι, or with the English letter *e* whose name in English, pronounced [Ii], approximates the Greek sound [i]. The Greek letter ε is usually represented by *e,* but occasionally it is equated with *a,* by a confusion of the name of that letter [εI], [eI], with the Greek sound [ε]. However, these, and other deviations in transliteration may be the result of phonetic respelling.

The Greek letter β is usually transliterated as a *b* and is pronounced [b] in most Americanized names. Thus, *Balabanes* [vala'vanis] becomes *Balaban.* However, this is not always the case. In many Greek names the *beta* is represented by its phonemic value, which can be very nearly approximated by the American letter *v.* Therefore it is not unusual to find the name *Basileios* [va'silios] written *Vasilios* or the name *Batsoures* [va'tsuris] written *Vatsoures.* Occasionally the *beta* is represented by a *w,* as in *Balasopoulos* [vala'sopulos], which has been changed to *Wallace,* possibly by confusing [v] and [w] with each other.

The Greek letter γ is usually transliterated as a *g* or *ng.* However,

before the sounds [ɛ] and [i], this consonant is pronounced like the *y* in yeast [j]. It is, therefore, sometimes written as a *y* in the process of Americanization. For example, *Bagianopoulos,* [vaja'nopulos] is first shortened, and then written *Bayian.* Sometimes, by analogy with the name *Giannes* (John) it is written as a *J,* as when *Giouchales,* ['juχalis] is shortened and becomes *Juhas.*

The Greek combination *mp* in rapid, unpremeditated spoken Greek, is pronounced very much like the American [b]. Therefore, Greek names containing this combination of consonants are not always transliterated *mp* but respelled phonetically with the letter *b.* Thus, *Mpitsolas,* [bi'tsolas] is written *Bicholas,* and *Mpelles* ['bɛlis], by changing the vowels and dropping the *s,* becomes *Bally.* Similarly, *Mpozines* [bo'zinis] is shortened and written *Bozin,* while *Harmpes* [χar'bis] drops its *s* and becomes Harbi. Sometimes the *mp* combination is given a nasalized pronunciation, resulting in something like [mb]. In such cases, names like *Haralampos* [χa'ralabos] becomes *Haralambos* and *Lampros* ['labros] becomes *Lambros* ['læmbrəs].

The Greek consonantal combination *nt* is usually pronounced approximately like the American *d.* The realization of this phonemic similarity has led some Greek people to substitute the *d* for the *nt,* producing such spellings as *Dafloukas* for *Ntafloukas* [daf'lukas] and *Duros* for *Ntouros* ['duros]. Situations often arise when people with identical names will vary the spelling of their names according to their individual conception of Greek pronunciation. Thus, two people named *Antales,* [ada'lis] might represent their names variously as *Antalis* [æn'tɛlas] and *Adalis* [ə'deIlɔs]. Like the *mp* combination, the *nt* is often nasalized, giving a sound something like [nd]. A case in point is the name *Koumantarakis* [kumada'rakis] which becomes *Coumandarakis,* and eventually, *Commander.*

The Greek [tz] sound is a very unstable one. When it is preceded by an *n* it is sounded like [dz]. For example, when the name *Tzelepes* [tzɛlɛ'pis] is preceded by the accusative article *ton,* the name becomes [dʒɛlɛ'pis]; that is, [,tontzɛlɛ'pi]>[,todzɛlɛ'pi]>[,todʒɛlɛ'pi]. Thus, when phonetically respelled, and given its American pronunciation, this name becomes *Jelepes,* or *Jelepis* [dʒɛ'lɛpəs]. Similarly, the Greek [tz], is written as a *g* by analogy with American

combinations in which the "soft" *g* is pronounced. Thus, *Tzortzakis* is shortened and becomes *George* ['dʒordʒ], in an attempt to equate the Greek [tz], with the American phoneme [dʒ].

The Greek *ts* combination is pronounced variously [ts] and [tʃ] depending upon the dialectical area from which the speaker comes. Therefore, in its representation in English it is sometimes written *ts* and sometimes *ch*. It is possible, however, that this difference in spelling of the same phoneme is the result of an attempt to approximate the American phoneme [tʃ], and has nothing to do with dialectical differences. Whatever the case may be, it is interesting to note that the name *Tsiliakos* [tsi'ljakos] is written in English with a *ts* while the name *Tsirakes* [tsi'rakis] is written *Chirakis*.

Although the Greek χ is usually transliterated *ch*, its similarity, though it is relatively weaker, to the [h] of spoken American-English has produced some names which have substituted the letter *h* for the Greek [χ] sound. Thus, Χάρλας becomes *Harlas* and Χόνδρος becomes *Hondros*.

When the Greek *ps* is transliterated, the *p* is rarely pronounced. Realizing this, some people with names like *Psoras* ['psoras], have begun to eliminate the superfluous *p*, their names resulting in the phonetic respelling like *Soras*, and, (with the dropping of the final *s*) *Sora*.

The Greek diphthongs αυ, and ευ, before a vowel or before β, γ, δ, λ, μ, ν, and ρ, are pronounced [av] and [ɛv] respectively; in all other cases like [af] and [ɛf]. Although these diphthongs are transliterated *au* and *eu*, in the process of name changing among American-Greeks they are often represented according to their phonetic values. Thus, the name *Augeres*, [av'jɛris] becomes *Avgeris*, and *Euangelou* [ɛva'ηɛlu] by omitting the initial and terminal vowels, becomes *Vangel*. *Eustatheios* [ɛfs'taθis], on the other hand, becomes *Efstathious*, and *Eleutherios* [ɛlɛf'θɛrios] becomes *Elefthe-rios*.

The literal representation of the Greek digraphs is not infrequently abandoned in favor of representing them by their nearest phonemic analogue in English. As we have seen, popular approximations of the Greek sound [i] are the American [I] and the diphthong [Ii]. Thus, we often find the Greek ι, η, υ each represented simply by *i* without differentiation, between them. The *e*

is often substituted for the digraph οι; for example, *Oikonomides,* [ikono'miðis], becomes *Economides.* Otherwise the [i] sound is approximated by analogy with the *e* in *be, ee* in *see, ea* in *east,* and *i* in *machine,* each chosen at random by the particular individual who is in the process of Americanizing his name, unless he has consciously attempted to follow a standardized system of transliteration.

In addition to translation, transliteration, and phonetic respelling (and often in conjunction with them) an important method of changing Greek names to shorter, more euphonious Anglo-American equivalents is what is variously known as, clipping, abbreviation, or shortening. The processes involved in the shortening of Greek names are analogous to the processes of phonetic change in that they involve the omission, addition, or transposition of terminal, medial, and initial letters, or component parts, of the original form of a name. Philologists and linguists apply the terms *apocope, paragoge, aphaeresis, prosthesis, syncope, epenthesis* and *metathesis* to similar changes which are observable in the development of linguistic phonology.[2]

Similar, and related to the phonetic process of apocope which, for our purposes, may be defined as the cutting off of one or more letters from the *end* of a word, is the kind of terminal clipping which is observable in the metamorphosis of Greek names into names which will fit the spoken and written efficiency of American-English.

Perhaps the most prominent example of apocope, as we have defined it, is the large number of Greek names whose first constituent element is the honorific prefix *papa-(s)* (priest), and whose second component part has been "lost in the shuffle" of cognominal simplification. H. L. Mencken has ascribed the popularity of the name *Pappas* in this country, at least partially, to the fact that the Greek priests were the spiritual leaders of their enslaved countrymen during the prolonged Turkish occupation, and that they were subsequently subject to the greatest respect.[3]

As has been pointed out earlier,[4] the noun *papas,* with the *s* dropped, was prefixed to the given-name of the priest in question as a title of respect. Presumably this was prior to the time when surnames began to be used as a permanent onomastic custom, if we

are to judge by the large number of people in this country (and in Greece) whose patronymics indicate descent from a priest.

After the innovation of surnames, at which time people began to assign to their neighbors nicknames that were to assume a lasting permanence, it stands to reason that the relatively elevated social and cultural position of the clergy would make any kind of association with them a fact to be taken notice of, and therefore, a factor to be reckoned with in any attempt at describing the relatives of the highly esteemed *papa.*

In pre-cognominal days, probably the best compliment a man could be paid was to be reminded that one knew that his father, or his uncle, was a priest. Thus to that combination of honorific and proper noun which identified a man as a priest, were added one or a number of patronymic and diminutive suffixes to indicate that someone was a lineal descendant of the original priest. And, as the priests multiplied, so did the number of people whose names began with *papa.*

It was only natural that, when the tide of immigration broke, a certain proportion of the Greeks coming to America should be descendants of priests; furthermore, those who were not, were at least aware of the honorable nature of a name like *Pappas,* even though it were a mere *component* of a truly noble, polysyllabic Greek name (and a transliteration at that!). This, then, partially explains why there are so many Pappas's listed in the telephone directory of Columbus, Ohio, and so many people whose original names were nearly as long as *Papatriantafyllopoulos.*

There are many Greek-Americans, however, for whom the arbitrary adoption of *Pappas* did not seem satisfactory from the standpoint of maintaining one's individuality and retaining one's identity. However unwilling they were to adopt an abbreviated form of someone else's name, these Greeks nevertheless realized the importance of brevity in their own.

As we have seen, some Greek names were already relatively short and were incorporated into the roster of "American" names by simple transliteration and phonetic respelling or both; others were sufficiently amenable to translation into English equivalents that were reasonably acceptable to American language habits. But, for names that did not fall into the above categories, something had to

be done. It was at this point that the principle of apocope began to operate, and, Mr. *Anastopoulos* became Mr. *Anast;* Mr. *Leontsines,* became Mr. *Leon;* Mr. *Tsirakopoulos,* (originally formed by dropping the inflectional ending of *Tsirakis,* replacing it by the compositional vowel *o* and adding the patronymic suffix *-poulos*) became, with the assistance of phonetic respelling, Mr. *Chirakis;* Mr. *Angelides* became Mr. *Angel;* Mr. *Alexopoulos* became Mr. *Alex;* Mr. *Athanasoules* became Mr. *Athan;* Mr. *Bagianopoulos* became (partly through phonetic respelling) Mr. *Vayian;* Mr. *Balabanes* became Mr. *Balaban;* Mr. *Mpozines* (with the aid of phonetic respelling) became Mr. *Bozin;* Mr. *Soteropoulos* (with the aid of respelling by analogy with "American" forms) became Mr. *Sauter;* Mr. *Tournikiotis* (by the ommission of the *u*) became Mr. *Tornik;* and, Mr. *Palkouras,* became Mr. *Paul* (by phonetic respelling of *Pal*).

The next observable principle in the clipping of Greek names in America is what may be called aphaeresis, or the subtracting of a letter or letters from the beginning of a word. By examining this process we come to another Greek surname that is very popular among the Greeks of America. The name *Poulos,* or its commonly respelled forms *Polis, Poles,* had early reached such a high currency among the names of Greeks who first came to this country, as to prompt Mr. Sotirios S. Lontos to state that, ". . . the *Pappases* and *Pouloses* have naturally become the Smiths and Browns of American Greeks."[5]

The popularity of the patronymic suffix *-poulos* is well known. Considering the widespread use of this suffix, it is not surprising that, within the group of people who were psychologically inclined to shorten their names by shaving them down to their last component parts, there should be a considerable number of *Pouloses.*

Indeed, the systematic and logical uniformity in the construction of the Greek language is attested to by the history of *Pappas* and *Poulos* in America. That so many far-flung, and psychologically different speakers of a language should almost simultaneously have chosen the same general methods of decomposing that language to suit their diverse, and sometimes antithetical purposes, is proof-positive of the influence of language upon the thought processes of its users.

However, it is not to be understood that everyone whose name contained the prefix *papa-* or the suffix *-poulos* chose to keep that particular element of his name to use as his new name. Nor were *Pappas* and *Poulos* the only names which were obtained through the processes of apocope and aphaeresis. The latter process is clearly illustrated in the name *Mones* which was devised by subtracting the prefix *papa-* from *Pappamones,* thus sacrificing the more popular element for a relatively unfamiliar one. Similarly, when *Mauromates* loses its first constituent element, *-Mates* is left; by transliterating *i* for *e* and adding a *t* to preserve the "short" quality of the vowel, the name finally becomes Mattis ['mætəs].

Besides what we have chosen to designate as apocope and aphaeresis, Greek names in America have been shortened by the process of syncope; that is, by removing a letter or letters from the middle of the original form of the name. Thus, the central part of *Adamantides,* (*-antide-*) is removed to produce *Adams;* the element *-asopoul-* is removed from *Anastasopoulos* to produce *Anastos;* the middle letters *-ade-* are taken from *Alexiades,* to give us *Alexis;* the *-kouki-* element is subtracted from *Gerokoukis* to result in *Geros; Dionysopoulos* loses the middle element *-poulo-* and becomes, by various transliteration, *Deonesos; Zarafonites,* minus *-fonite-,* equals *Zaras;* similarly, *Saridakis* without *-daki-* becomes *Saris; Stamatakos,* without *-tako-,* becomes *Stamas;* and *Tsacopoulos,* without *-opou-,* becomes (with the aid of phonetic respelling) *Chacos.*

For the purposes of classification we have been using the phonological terms aphaeresis, apocope, and syncope to describe the processes by which polysyllabic Greek names have been clipped in order to fit American linguistic patterns. The correlative opposites of these terms may also be defined in such a way as to illustrate certain processes in letter-change which are analogous to those of sound-change. For example, if we define prosthesis as the adding of one or more letters to the *beginning* of a name, epenthesis as the insertion of a letter or letters in the *middle* of a name, and paragoge as the adding of one or more letters to the *end* of a name, we may further classify the processes observable in the metamorphosis of Greek names into American-English.

We have seen that the tendency in changing Greek names has

been one of abbreviation. Therefore, it becomes obvious that these last three processes must operate in collaboration with the three previously discussed, since the latter processes are the ones which are concerned with the *subtraction* of component elements. Furthermore, since the tendency is toward abbreviation, we can only rarely expect to find the principle of prosthesis. However, many examples of Greek names can be found, which have been changed by combinations of the rest of these two sets of principles, and, the varieties of combinations are many.

For example, the name *Schooley* is the result of the combination of apocope and paragoge. The original form of the name, *Skoularinas,* was first abbreviated by cutting off the last part (*-arinas*), and the ending *-ley* was added, thus giving us *Skouley*. Then, by analogy with the English word *school* [skul] and consequent phonetic respelling, the Greek spelling *Skou-* [sku-] was changed to *Schoo-,* thus giving us the final form of the name, *Schooley*. Similarly, the name *Tsoumas,* was changed by cutting off the final *s,* (apocope), and adding *n,* (paragoge). This made the name *Tsouman,* which, by phonetic respelling, became *Chooman;* this name has changed even more in its pronunciation, for by analogy with the [ʃ] in *chauffeur,* it is now pronounced ['ʃuUmən].

Another example of the combination of apocope and paragoge is the name *Karmiris,* whose last part (*-iris*) is removed, and *-man* added, giving *Karman*. By various transliteration, Karman then becomes *Carman*.

A combination of apocope and syncope may be seen in the name *Polymenakos*. The suffix *-akos* is first removed, leaving *Polymen-* which by syncope, loses its middle *y,* thus leaving *Polmen*.

The combination of epenthesis and syncope is illustrated when one *s* is removed from the middle of *Kossyfas* and a *t* is inserted, leaving *Kotsyfas*. But, this particular phenomenon is probably the result of a phonetic respelling; the Greek vulgate pronunciation of the name, which comes from *kossyfi* ('black-bird'), results in the recording of the intrusive *t* in the Americanization of the name. This name is an excellent example of the actual operation of *phonetic* epenthesis and illustrates the fact that, although it may be acceptable for purposes of classification and scientific study, a sharp and permanent distinction between *graphic* and *phonetic* changes

cannot be made (since writing is really but a means of recording sound).

The interrelationship between written and spoken linguistic processes can also be illustrated by the principle of metathesis. For our purposes, this may be defined as the transposition of two letters in a given name. In the name *Alatsatianos* we have an example of the combination of that principle and the principle of syncope. By the removal of the middle element *-tia-* from *Alatsatianos,* the shortened form *Alatsanos* results. When the *s* and *t* are transposed, the final product becomes *Alastanos.* We cannot know whether Mr. *Alastanos* knew anything about the phonological principle of metathesis or not; in fact we rather doubt that he did. But whether his name was accidentally changed by graphic transposition of the letter, or with the deliberate intent of facilitating pronunciation, the classification of this phenomenon as an example of metathesis is still justifiable.

Phonetic, though not graphic, metathesis, can be seen in the name *Vradelis.* Though in the written form the *v* precedes the *r,* the American pronunciation of the name is [vɛr'dɛləs]. Eventually, the written name will probably come to correspond with its pronunciation, again illustrating the interrelationship between written and spoken linguistic processes.

As we have seen, a large variety of combinations of these processes is possible. An example of the "quadrilateral" operation of aphaeresis, apocope, syncope, and epenthesis is seen in the Americanization of the name *Lampropoulos.* The first part *Lampro-* and the last part *-os* are removed, leaving *-poul-.* Then, by analogy with the common name *Paul,* the *o* is removed (syncope) and *a* is added (epenthesis).

Another such multiple operation is illustrated in the change of the name *Filiopoulos.* The compositional *-o-* is removed by syncope, leaving *Fili-* and *-poulos.* The *-oulos* is then removed by apocope, leaving *-p-* which is then attached to *Phili-* by paragoge, giving us *Filip.* The letter *l* is then inserted in the middle (epenthesis) and the *F* is changed to *Ph* (by phonetic respelling or various transliteration), resulting in the name *Phillip;* to the end of that is added the letter *s* (paragoge) to produce the surname *Phillips.*

As we have said, the classification of the processes of literal

change by the use of phonological terminology is but an arbitrary device used for the purpose of scientific analysis and study. And, it would seem that with the increase of the number of processes which can be found to have combined in the formation of a name, there would be a proportionate increase in the arbitrary nature of the system.

Furthermore, names like *Tsatsarones* and *Houhoules,* which are changed to *Tsaronis* and *Hoolis,* respectively (with the aid of phonetic respelling and various transliteration), can be classified as examples of either of two processes: aphaeresis or syncope. But, the change in these names can also be ascribed to the principle of *haplology,*[8] which describes linguistic situations in which the repetition of phonemes or sequences is avoided. However, changes by haplology are very different from those which are explainable by theories of sound-change.

Indeed, it would be difficult to prove that all the changes in the names which we have analyzed according to our system were the result of actual phonetic change, or that any *conscious* effort was actually exerted by the people whose names we have been discussing to arrive at a suitable name for themselves. For example, Mr. *Phillips* may have picked this name out by analogy with the common English name *Phillips,* without noticing any phonetic similarity between that name and *Filiopoulos;* similarly, Mr. *Lampropoulos* may have picked Paul because of its popularity among Americans, rather than by clipping his Greek name off at both ends and changing the vowels of the remainder.

But, from the standpoint of pronunciation, a definite indication of premeditated intent in the addition, omission, and transposition of letters exists. The practice of inserting extra letters in the *middle* (epenthesis) of Greek names that have already been through the preliminary phases of transliteration and abbreviation (through aphaeresis, apocope and syncope), appears to have been motivated by rational preliminary considerations. For example, the extra *p* in *Pappas* was probably added by someone who was aware that, in the English language, the length of a vowel is affected by the number of consonants following it; and, that person was interested in preserving a low, lax quality in the *a.* Although the vowel sound in the American pronunciation of Pappas may at one time have

been the low, lax [ɑ], in the abrasions of everyday speech and with the passage of time, the *a* in *Pappas* has been raised to the low front [æ] sound, thus giving us ['pæpəs]. Similarly, the extra *t* in *Mattis* (from *Mauromates*) was inserted for a purpose. Whoever first decided to make the change must have realized that with only one *t* the name would probably have been pronounced ['meɪtəs].

The same considerations that apply to the consonants apply to the epenthesis of vowels. Thus, when the name *Lykas* was transliterated, regardless of which of the Roman equivalents was chosen to represent the first Greek vowel in that name, the final pronunciation might not have approximated the Greek [i] sound to the taste of the name's owner. It might have been written *Likas, Lekas,* or *Lykas,* in which cases it could only have been pronounced ['laɪkəs] and ['lɪkəs], ['lɛkəs] and ['leɪkəs], or ['laɪkəs] and ['lɪkəs]. But if the vowel combinations *ea,* or *ee,* were inserted, the pronunciation could not help but be ['lɪikəs] or ['likəs], which is much closer to the Greek vowel [i]. The same applies to the name *Frimas,* which came to be written *Freemas.*

Judging from the facts observable in the case of epenthesis and the relation of that particular method of adapting the written form of Greek names to American customs, a generalization may be made with respect to the rest of the devices we have discussed. The pronunciation of Greek names in America is directly related to the structural methods which were used to transform them from Greek to American, and, in turn, the pronunciation of American English (in the particular locality in which the names were changed) had a direct and pronounced influence upon the methods which were chosen to effect that change.

The majority of the names mentioned may be classified according to at least one of the processes of Greek name-change which have thus far been delineated. Yet, there are some names which defy classification. How a man by the name of *Zikopoulos* came to adopt a name like *Marion,* or *Tsitzikos* came to be *Murton,* and

Taularides came to be *Curtis,* is a question the answer to which can only be conjectured. The only possible way to arrive at a reasonably accurate understanding of the psychological processes which impelled these people to make such a radical change in the original form of their fathers' names, is to contact them each personally; but even then the results may prove disappointing.

Oftentimes, the true reasons behind the adoption of disparate surnames is hidden in the past, and members of the younger generations have not been interested enough in traditions to have inquired into the origin of the family name. Occasionally, however, one is fortunate enough to meet a person with firsthand knowledge on the subject of his name. The result is that the inquisitor is then deluged with interesting information which casts brilliant light upon social and cultural conditions, and their influence upon the lives of the human beings who lived in them.

People like the Greeks of America, whose surnames have been recently adapted to meet the demands of their particular social environment have, of necessity, had to adapt themselves along with their names. The names of such people, then, may be used as a mirror of the culture in which they have lived; a mirror which, by the nature of social and personal interaction, will also reflect human nature and conduct.

In the list of names which was compiled for this study, two surnames *Brown* are to be found. But, looking at their Greek equivalents, we see that one *Brown* belongs to the family of *Kalantzopoulos,* the other to the family of *Oikonomedes,* indicating that they are in no way related. On the other hand, we notice that there are three surnames *Kalantzopoulos,* but that the American equivalent of each of these is different. One *Kalantzopoulos* is now a *Polis,* the other a *Manos,* and the third a *Brown.*

Whether or not these particular three people are relatives is not ascertained, but this illustration indicates the type of situation that has arisen, and continues to arise within many Greek families. Greek society is basically a patriarchal society possessing the concomitants of hegemony in the father, preference of elder sons, and the hierarchy of age. A premium is placed upon obedience and the adherence to custom and tradition. It is not surprising then, that the younger generation should meet with vigorous opposition in

the event of any suggested departure from established precedent. And, the question whether to retain or discard the family name has always been a source of disharmony among respective members of a family.

Discordant attitudes as to whether patronymics should be retained or altered can also be a source of disharmony among the various members of a community. Greeks who frown upon the Americanization of family names, ridicule others who have changed theirs. This attitude has, no doubt, helped to retard the processes of name-change among the Greeks.

Although there is a gradual tendency towards simplification, there are still many difficult Greek surnames which have remained, essentially, unchanged. This reluctance on the part of some American-Greeks to alter their patronymics is the result of their reverence of custom and tradition, and shows a tendency to resist cultural change.

The degree to which the Greeks of this country have allowed their names to be changed, often indicates the degree to which they, in turn, have allowed themselves to become "assimilated" to American life. The change of Greek surnames shows a relatively static adherence to the customs and traditions of the "homeland," and reflects the old world element which can still be found in the cultural and psychological make-up of the American-Greek.

However, the Greek of America is not utterly inflexible; nor has he remained completely immune to the dynamic operation of social forces. Some willingness among the Greek people to conform to the demands of their cultural environment can be seen in the ease and rapidity with which Greek given-names have been Americanized; and, the Americanization of these names seems to be taking place more rapidly among members of the first and second generation.

Greek given-names are changed according to, what seem to be, established standards. Speaking with reference to the first Greek immigrants, Mr. Sotirios S. Lontos suggests that they have come by their American first-names as follows:

> . . . *Panagiotis* . . . is advised that henceforth he will be called *Pete, Demetrios* becomes *Jim, Basil* is changed into *Bill, Haralampos* into *Harry, Stavros* into *Steve,* and *Christos* into *Crist.* If his name is *Constantine* he has the choice of

either *Gus* or *Charles,* and as a rule he gives preference to the first as nearer in sound to his original name. *Demosthenes* is usually abbreviated into *Demos.* That was too plebeian a name, however, for a certain proprietor of an aristocratic candy shop, who very effectively gave his name the noble form of *De Moss.* Finally, while anybody called *Michael* may retain this name for American usage, among his countrymen here he will be known as *Mackis,* which is the Greek version of *Mike.*

It is interesting to note that not only *Panagiotes,* but *Panteles* and *Petros* as well, become Pete. Also, in Columbus, the name *Constantinos,* in addition to *Gust* or *Gus,* and *Charles,* often become *Deno* or *Dino* (by dropping the final *-s,* aphaeresis, and phonetic respelling); the name *Dean* for *Constantinos* has become very popular among the members of the second generation.

The results of social pressure can be even more easily seen in the feminine given-names of American-Greeks. Being more sensitive than the men, Greek women have consequently been more willing to have their names conform to the accepted norms of American society. This is particularly true among the *children* of the early immigrants, whose mothers seem to have been anxious to transform their daughters' Greek given-names into American-sounding equivalents.

We have seen that the names of the Greeks in America (in particular, those of the Greeks in Columbus, Ohio) can be used as a criterion from which to judge the degree to which their owners have adjusted to cultural change. Changes in surnames are of a relatively conservative nature. Greek surnames which show little or no change, can be viewed as the final vestige of European influence upon their bearers.

On the other hand, the general tendency in given-names, is toward conformity; they reflect the gradual substitution of American cultural habits for those of the "old country." And, of this latter class, the female names seem to indicate the course which all Greek names will eventually take, as the Greeks in America move toward complete cultural assimilation. The rate of name-change, according to the facts established by this study, is directly proportional to the rate of cultural change among those citizens of America whose names show that they are descendants of Greeks who, in turn, were themselves of Greek descent.

NOTES

[1] Carrol N. Brown (ed.), *English-Greek, Greek-English Dictionary of the National Herald;* D. C. Divry (ed.), *Divry's New English-Greek and Greek-English Handy Dictionary.*

These dictionaries advise Greeks to transliterate their names by writing them with Roman letters, thus giving them the form of Latin names. They are further advised to pronounce the names with the English sounds of the letters and the Latin rule for the place of the accent (i.e. two-syllabled words accent the penult; polysyllables accent the penult, if long, otherwise the antepenult).

[2] See Sophocles, *A Romaic Grammar;* also see Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar,* Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* and Louis H. Gray, *Foundations of Language.*

[3] See H. L. Mencken, *The American Language,* p. 486, f.n. 2.

[4] Note the large number of names with the prefix *papa-(s).*

[5] "American Greek," *American Speech,* Vol. I, No. 6, March, 1926, p. 308; H. L. Mencken, *The American Language,* p. 485.

[6] Leonard Bloomfield, on p. 391 of his *Language,* tells us: "When a phoneme or group of phonemes recurs within a word, one occurrence, together with the intervening sounds, may be dropped: this change is known as *haplology.*"

At Punta Gorda, Brit. Honduras, the padre had told us of the passion of the Caribs for a multiplicity of names. One of the women, after giving her child three or four, pointed to me and told the padre to add mine. I am not very strict, but I did not care to assume wantonly the obligations of a godfather. Stopping the ceremony, I begged the padre to get me released with the best grace he could and he promised to do so. But it was an excessively hot day, the room was crowded, the doors choked up, and by this time the padre . . . was in a profuse perspiration and somewhat confused. I thought myself clear until a few moments later a child was passed along for me to take in my arms . . . Still I most ungallantly avoided receiving the baby. On going away, however, the woman intercepted me and, thrusting forward the infant, called me *compadre,* so that without knowing it I became godfather to a Carib child . . . I can only hope that in due season it will multiply the name and make it respectable among the Caribs. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America* . . . 1841, p. 21.

Names in Popular Sayings

O. PAUL STRAUBINGER

THE ACTIVE INTEREST in human nomenclature, its origin, meaning and history has been reflected in an evergrowing store of popular writings. Considering the wealth and scope of this literature, we must wonder why only scant attention has been paid to the many relevant insights that may be gained from an investigation of the widely current use of personal names in proverbs and popular sayings. The patent disregard for this interesting field of investigation cannot be attributed to a paucity of source material but rather to a neglect of proper collecting. The most cursory perusal of any proverb collection will yield a ready and bountiful harvest of pertinent sayings, containing personal names in a great variety of pattern and meaning. However, such random samplings are of no great value to the study of names. Only methodic compilation, based on a diligent search through the tomes of proverb collections, will provide a reliable foundation for an authoritative discussion of the wealth of proverb lore that has been linked to many names.

Depending on emphasis and method, an examination of sayings relating to personal names will prove productive from several points of view. The analysis of their content will throw new light on the diverse and interesting connotations with which the common man has invested so many names. The study of their style will demonstrate a correlation between certain proverb patterns and the proverbial use of names. The evaluation of the quantitative yield with regard to specific names will provide valid evidence of their regional popularity in a historical perspective, evidence which in turn may be related to specific causative factors. The impact of history, of human fame or infamy, is found in the curious and often quite unexpected manner in which names from history or

legend have caught popular fancy and persist in proverbial allusion. Occasionally the reference to a name may prove to be our only clue to the meaning of an obsolete proverb and enable us to establish its place and time of origin.

The assiduous collector of pertinent sayings may wisely choose to limit his collection to proverbial references to a single name. Professor Wayland D. Hand has given us an excellent example of the fruitfulness of such a highly selective approach in his comprehensive investigation of words and idioms which are traditionally associated with Judas Iscariot. Analogous limitations to instances of the use of personal names in such specific proverb patterns, as rhymes or puns on names, or alliterative formations should prove equally rewarding. Any collector who attempts to gain a wider perspective and who embarks on an all-inclusive compilation will soon find himself confronted with the difficult problem of finding a feasible arrangement for the analysis of countless sayings that differ widely in content and style.

To list all pertinent sayings alphabetically by name is one practical solution which has the obvious advantage of being very convenient for ready reference. However, this conventional arrangement fails to bring into focus one of the most important distinctions in the discussion of the proverbial use of names, i.e. the essential difference between proverb lore that alludes either directly or indirectly to the name of a specific character from history or legend and, on the other hand, the anomalous multitude of sayings in which personal names appear in a non-allusive sense to represent the concept of man or woman in general. The expediency of limiting one's collection to a single language is equally inadequate because it does not account for numerous instances of international currency. In view of these difficulties it seems advisable to limit comparative studies in this field to groups of sayings which can be clearly defined and circumscribed by some common characteristic.

The investigation of proverbs which pertain to names of individuals is particularly rewarding. Proverbs of this type are manifestly of earlier origin and of a wider regional distribution than the non-allusive sayings and lend themselves quite readily to meaningful groupings. There is, for instance, an abundance of allusions

to Biblical characters. These allusions reveal or confirm many of the traditional beliefs which have been associated with some of the popular figures from both the New and the Old Testament. In a broader sense they also delineate some of the sources and the general scope of the common man's familiarity with the Scriptures. We may note, for example, the early origin and widespread currency of numerous proverbs that refer to Adam and Eve to attest that the dramatic narrative of the creation of man, of his temptation and fateful punishment, has never lost its deep symbolic meaning to mankind. The connotation of moral frailty which has been linked to the appellation *the old Adam* lends a deeper meaning to the widely current proverb *We are all Adam's children* as well as to its recent satiric expansion *We are all Adam's children, but silk makes the difference.* Similar allusions to the same connotation may be found in German, e.g. *Der alte Adam lebt noch* (Old Adam is still alive); *Der alte Adam guckt heraus* (Old Adam peeks out); *Nach dem alten Adam schmeckt jeder* (Every one has a touch of old Adam). Another German proverb *Alle Frauen sind Evastöchter* (All women are daughters of Eve) shows that analogous allusions to Eve are marked by similar innuendoes.

Proverbs linking Adam's name to that of Eve lend themselves readily to the creation of types employing the rhetorical device of parallelism or contrast. An early and widely known example of this type is the English rhyme *When Adam delved and Eve span, where was then the gentleman?* This extremely popular proverb was originally a part of a defiant revolutionary song. We know that it was used as early as 1381 by John Ball as the theme for his famous sermon on the equality of man and we can trace its rapid spread across the sea into Holland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries in the course of the following century. One of the reasons for its widespread currency in the Germanic languages lies without doubt in the ease with which the rhymed pattern of the English prototype could be imitated in these related tongues, e.g. in Dutch *Wie was die edelman, doe Adam groef ende Eve span* (*ca.* 1460); in Swedish *Ho was tha een ädela man, tha Adam groff ok eua span* (1476); in Early New High German *Da Adam reütet vnd Eva span, wer was die Zeit da ein Edelman* (1493). Closely related variants in the Romance and Slavic languages show, however, that linguistic bar-

riers were no obstacles to the expression of the ideal of human equality in the simple words of this old adage.

Numerous allusions to Biblical characters in the form of proverbial comparison illustrate another type of popular saying which becomes meaningful only through a common cognizance of the Biblical connotations of the names involved. Sayings like *As wise as Solomon* and *As old as Methuselah* have been current since the Middle Ages. Biblical accounts of exemplary virtue inspired comparisons like *As modest as Judith; As obedient as Rebecca* and *As chaste as Susanna.* The concepts of misery and patient suffering have long been linked to the names of Job and Lazarus in *As patient as Job* and *As poor as Lazarus.*

An interesting transposition of reference appears in the well-known saying *To rob Peter to pay Paul.* In England this phrase is commonly regarded as a historical allusion to the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral done at the expense of St. Peter's at Westminster during the reign of Edward VI. However, the assumption of this particular reference becomes quite untenable in the light of much earlier documentations of a medieval Latin equivalent *Non est spoliandus Petrus, ut vestiatur Paulus* as well as in view of widely current vernacular parallels on the Continent where any allusion to a local English event would have been completely meaningless. A German variant *Man muss nicht St. Peters Altar berauben, um St. Paulus zu bedecken* (One must not rob St. Peter's altar to cover St. Paul's) offers a clue to a more likely explanation which links our saying to the religious custom of decorating the respective altar of every saint on his special day. Normally this was done by transferring a special set of decorations from altar to altar. Since the Saint's day of St. Peter coincided with that of St. Paul, it often was impossible to grace the altar of one without baring the other.

The fervent cult of the saints during the late Middle Ages proved extremely productive of sayings that base their metaphoric content on a general knowledge of the lives of these venerated men and women. Legendary accounts of their miraculous deeds and harsh tribulations were familiar to the common people, who in proverbial allusion paid unwitting tribute to their saintly virtues. Almost all the extant sayings of this type prove to be mere continuations or variations of the great wealth of proverb lore relating

to saints that was current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Catholic countries we may still note an unmistakable correlation between the popularity of a particular cult and the yield and dissemination of relevant allusions. This explains, for instance, the abundance of French sayings which refer to the colorful legends about St. Martin, bishop of Tours and patron saint of France.

The dearth of similar sayings in Protestant regions is quite noticeable. We may safely charge it to the iconoclastic zeal of the early days of the Reformation, which apparently discouraged even the most innocuous expressions of apostasy. Among the few surviving English allusions to the name of a saint, we find some curious references to St. Anthony, as patron saint of the swineherds, in the sayings *As fat as St. Anthony's pig* and *He will follow him like St. Anthony's pig*. The latter is still used to scorn obsequious behavior. Both sayings were originally inspired by the familiar sight of "St. Anthony's pigs" in the streets of Old London, where the proctors of St. Anthony's Hospital had been granted the privilege of letting their swine feed on public land. Homage to St. George, the patron saint of England, is paid in the expressions *As bright as St. George* and *St. George to boot*. The facetious simile *Like St. George who is always on horseback and never rides* was obviously inspired by the familiar sight of countless statues and pictures of St. George as a heroic warrior.

The number of proverbial allusions to historical characters other than saints is surprisingly small. Apparently the great of the past were so quickly forgotten by burgher and peasant that any reference to them soon lost its meaning. Popular ascriptions that assign many sayings to definite characters are therefore frequently open to question. The seeming reference to Alexander the Great in *If Alexander were a cook, all the world would know it* becomes somewhat questionable when we note that this is evidently a less suggestive variant of a proverb which is widely current in German and Spanish and reads in literal translation "If Alexander were a cuckold, God and all the world would know it" (*Wenn Alexander ein Hahnreih ist, so weiss es Gott und alle Welt; Si Alejandro es cornudo, sepalo Dios y todo el mundo*). The more specific allusion of the continental version lends some weight to a conjecture that re-

lates this proverb to a certain Alexander Pheseo, governor of Thessaly, who according to long forgotten accounts was murdered by his own wife when he took extreme measures to curb her notorious infidelity. Allusions to characters from English history are equally uncertain. The proverb *King Harry loved a man* is supposed to derive its ironic connotation from the reputation of Henry VIII for wanton greed and selfishness. We have yet to find a plausible explanation for the jocular use of *This was a hill in King Harry's day* or for the old Sussex saying *My Lord Baldwin is dead,* which was used in an ironic sense to let people know that their news was already commonplace knowledge. The early currency of the proverbial comparison *As bold as Beauchamp* suggests that it may have been prompted by the numerous accounts of the chivalrous pursuits of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1382–1439), yet later periods were prone to regard it as an allusion to the fame of other, contemporary bearers of this illustrious name.

A typical example of a proverbial allusion which is no longer linked to any specific character is our well-known expression *Let George do it.* In American usage it is commonly associated with the appellative use of this name for a Pullman porter. Yet we are told that Louis XII used to express his confidence in George d'Amboise, his minister of state, by saying: "Laissez faire à Georges, il est homme d'âge." In spite of the striking sameness of expression, we find ourselves hard pressed to explain why the French phrase was allegedly translated and so widely adopted by the American people.

These instances are but a few of many that could be cited to illustrate the difficulties in the search for the origin and meaning of proverb in which the allusion to a name is no longer understood. Our success in tracing these references to definite historical or legendary characters depends not only on the patient search through authoritative works on history, legend, or superstition but also to a large degree on the grace of fortuitous discovery.

The proverbial use of personal names in a general, non-allusive sense, as in *All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy* is of comparatively recent origin. First documented at the close of the fifteenth century, these sayings about Dick, Tom, and Harry have become increasingly popular and in the case of names like Jack or

John extremely productive. Instances of international currency are rare and invariably limited to closely related language groups. The popular character of these sayings accounts for a general tendency to use abbreviated forms like Dick, Tom, or Bess in preference to the full name. The brevity of these pet forms also conforms with a natural inclination to make proverbs short and concise. The use of these names in the generic sense of man or woman is, on the whole, much less common than their endowment with specific connotative values.

The historic development of the proverbial use of names in a general, non-allusive sense clearly reflects the relative popularity of the names involved. Ultimately we must attribute the vogue of certain names to explicit factors like the missionary zeal with which the Medieval Church promoted the use of names from the Calendar of Saints or the ancient custom of naming children after the ruler of the land. To illustrate the correlation between the vogue of a name and its proverbial use we only need to point to the abundance of proverbs in every Western tongue which contain the name of John in one of its many variant forms. Being not only the name of the Baptist and of Christ's favorite disciple, but also that of 23 popes and of no less than 994 saints, this name has outranked all other Christian names for more than half a millennium.

The connotations, that are attached to names, generally strike a disparaging note. In English we may note this early instance of the use of Jack, the curious English pet for John, in sayings like *Jack would be a gentleman if he had money* or *Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French,* dating from the close of the fifteenth century. Another early example of more pronounced disparagement may be found in the use of Malkin, an obsolete diminutive form of Maud, in the sixteenth-century proverb *You cannot love both at once the mistress and Malkin, her maid.* Being used at this stage as a stock name for a servant girl, Malkin subsequently deteriorated in meaning to the point where it became a synonym for harlot.

Popular delight in rhyme and alliteration inspired the creation of sayings like *Jack shall have his Gill; If Jack's in love, he is no judge of Jill's beauty; There is a silly Jock for every silly Jenny;*

There is not so bad a Gill, but there is a bad Will. Such juxtapositions of the names of the opposite sexes permit many variations of parallelism or of contrast in thought and stylistic structure.

Within the narrow compass of this brief discussion, the few examples cited can offer merely a glimpse of an abundance of challenging materials for fruitful investigation. In addition to the use of names in proverbial sayings, one should also mention their use in mocking rhymes, in weather rules and in magic formulae, i.e. in curses or invocations. There can be no question that the methodic search and the critical analysis of these neglected fields of research will yield some notable contributions to name research.

A *Dictionary of American Surnames* will be published in the near future by Harper & Brothers. This will consist of approximately six thousand surnames with nationality and a brief explanation of their origin. A study of various large city telephone directories has been made to insure the inclusion of all the more popular surnames.

The nationality of the person bearing a particular surname will be designated rather than the language from which the name was derived. For example, there will be the entry: "SMITH (Eng.), The worker in metals." As a surname, Smith is English, derived from an Anglo-Saxon word. Of course Smith is also a popular name in Scotland and Ireland, but it is impractical to allot sufficient space to tell all about the name.

I hope that this will be the forerunner of a really comprehensive and scholarly dictionary of surnames which will include the surnames of all nationalities. An attempt is being made to include the surnames of the members of the American Name Society. If any members have any special information concerning the nationality and meaning of their surnames, or other surnames, I hope that they will send the information addressed to me at 322 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, to reach me before December 15, 1955.

Elsdon C. Smith

Family Names in French Louisiana

E. D. JOHNSON

The parts of southern Louisiana which were settled by the French in the eighteenth century offer an interesting area for the study of evolution in family names. The earliest settlers were French, including many direct from France plus others from the French West Indies and from Canada. Then came small but important groups of Spanish and Germans to add their family names to the Louisiana list. In the nineteenth century came large numbers of Americans, with their English, Scotch and Irish names, and finally, in the twentieth century, smaller numbers of Italians, Syrians and Lebanese added their names to the melting pot. New Orleans, of course, has representative groups of almost all nationalities, but even outside this metropolis the variety of family names is considerable.

Two distinct trends seem to be noticeable in Louisiana family name history. First, there was the tendency to make non-French names conform to the French in spelling or pronunciation, and second, in the last century or so, there has been an attempt to anglicize the French name. It should be pointed out, however, that particularly in the southern part of the state, the French name forms have survived remarkably well as compared with other foreign name forms in the United States. Such names as LeBlanc, Broussard, Begneaud, Benoit, Guidry, and even longer ones such as Delahoussaye, Demontreville and Domengeaux have preserved their forms unchanged after two centuries in America.

Some of the most interesting changes in the forms of family names took place among the German settlers. The so-called "German Coast" on the Mississippi was settled by German Catholics, who were gradually assimilated into the French Catholic population so thoroughly that they became French speaking and in many

cases lost all knowledge of their German ancestry. In some cases their names were simply translated into French, and Zweig became LaBranche, or Weiss became LeBlanc. Usually, though, the change was in spelling, to conform to French pronunciation. Weber became Webre, or, as some would have it, first Ouebre and then Oubre. However, Oubre is a good French name in itself and there is no particular proof that Weber ever took this form. Among other German names, Bernhardt became Bernard; Zeigler became Seigler or Sigler; Altmann became Aultman; and Hofbauer changed to Hoffpauir. Konig, for example, seems to have changed in several directions. Some became Roys, others Kings, according to whether French or English predominated at the time the change was made, but still others became first Koennings and then Cunnings. Apparently some of the Germans were called simply "allemands", for that term exists today as a family name in several forms including Allemand, Allemond, Alleman and Aleman. One Albert Schecksneider or Scheckschneider, who came to Louisiana in 1721, has left several thousand descendants who spell their names in a remarkable variety of ways. There are Shexnayders, Schexnaiders, Schexnaildres, and Seicschnaydres, to mention only a few of those beginning with "s", as well as Cheznaidres and Chezneiders in the "c"s.

The Spanish element managed to preserve its family names relatively intact, probably because Spanish was phonetically close to French. Thus such names as Galvez, Hernandez, Lopez, Ortego, and Romero are spelled the same as they were in the eighteenth century. The few changes made in Spanish name forms have been relatively minor, as in Galves for Galvez, or Goutierrez for Gutierrez. Only occasionally are such variants found as Artego for Ortego, or LaPez for Lopez. The Americans sometimes adopted French forms for their names, however, and some of these have survived. There is, for instance, Jeansonne for Johnson, and Petitjohn for Littlejohn. The Yongues may have been originally either American Youngs or German Jungs. The French name Melancon or Melanson is supposed to have derived from Mellonson, although another theory has it coming from the German Melanchton.

In the nineteenth century there was considerable leeway in the spelling of French family names, and sometimes different branches

of the same family adopted varying forms. In a case of difficult spelling such as Arceneault, the form was changed to Arceneau or Arcenaux, and also to Arseneau and Arseneaux. For Arcement there was also Arsement and Arcemand. For Savoy there was Savoie and Savois; for Breaux, both Braux and Braud; and for Comeaux, Comau and Comaux. Thibodeaux had even more variants, including Thibodaut, Thibodaux and Thibodau, and probably also the closely related Quibodaux and Kibodaux. Theriot also appeared as Theriau and Theriaut, while Bigneaud varied with Vignaud, Vigneaux, Vignaux and Vignau. Comau was substituted for Comeaux; Guilbaud and Guilbeau for Guilbeaux; Dugat for Dugas; and even Latiolay for Latiolais. There were Decou and Decoux; Gauthreaux, Gautreau, and Gautreaux; Jolienette, Jolinette, and Jolinet; Doucet and Doucette; Chevilier and Chevalier; Fuselier and Fusilier; and Goeffroy and Jeoffrey. Final "s", "x", and "d" or "t" were interchanged liberally, and "au" and "eau" were often exchanged. By the twentieth century, in most cases, one form of the family name was usually in common use, while the others had disappeared or were seen only infrequently. Exceptions, of course, can be fairly easily found where many different forms of a name are still in use. One example is the Schexneiders, mentioned above, and another is Kiercereau, of which there are supposed to be at least nineteen variants, including Kiersereau, Kersereau, Kesserau, and Quiercero.

In the last few generations, and especially on the fringe of the French speaking region, there has been a pronounced tendency to anglicise French names. In New Orleans, Shreveport, Baton Rouge and in east Texas, simplified forms of French names are fairly frequently found. Only seldom has there been a case of translation, although there are known cases of Roy becoming King, and LeBlanc, White. Usually it is a matter of fairly simple spelling change, as from De Clouet to DeClewett, or plain Clewett; from Geaux to Joe, or from Franques to Franks. In many cases the final "eau" or "eaux" has become an "o", as in Rousso, Arno, Primo, Bello, and Como. Some of these may be Italian names, of course, but where they appear in formerly French-speaking families there can be little doubt as to their origin. In some cases, the "au" at the beginning of a name has been exchanged for "o", as

in Obear for Aubert; Oden or Odin for Audin; and Ozen or Ozenne for Auzine. One of the oddest changes in this connection is O'Quin for Aucoin. Another French to Irish form appears in Delauney for De Laune. Bourque has been changed into Bourke and even Burke. Barrilleaux has become simply Barrio, and LeMoine, Lemmon. In the same way, Simon has become Simmons; Denais, Dennis; Vincent, Vinson; Pasquier, Paskey; and Foret, Foray. It is easy to see how Solier gave way to Sollay; Soileau to Swallow; and Andres to Andrus or Andrews; but it is more difficult to see how Sonnier became Swinney, although this is supposed to have happened. Lebow for Lebeau, and Lewis for Louis are fairly obvious, but how about Moncla for Montclair? Or Opet for Aupied? Similarly, one might recognize Des Hotels in Disotel, but one would have to pronounce Abare several times before realizing that it was the familiar Hebert, and the same is true where Ayo masquerades for Aillot. Cornay seems once to have been Corneille, but on the other hand, Leday was once Ledet. There seems to be little or no consistency in the methods by which names have been changed, and it should be repeated that the great majority of Louisiana French names still retain their original form, or a variant form that is still recognizable as French.

Although there is some evidence that the anglicizing trend is still underway, there is also a strong movement, particularly among the Acadians, to preserve their French name forms. The Acadian Bicentennial Celebration, being observed in 1955, has noted this trend away from French customs and names, and its leaders are urging that it be reversed. With compulsory birth registration and social security numbers, it is conceivable that the era of name changing is over, and the colorful period of Louisiana family name history has probably come to an end, or is fast approaching it.

Place Names and Epithets in Homer and Shakespeare

ALLEN B. KELLOGG

It seems natural for poets to treat place names with loving care, to enrich them with epithets stimulating to the imagination and gratifying to the ear. In the second book of the *Iliad* one can scarcely read Homer's account of the assembly of "the flowing-haired Achaians" with its designation of their leaders and of the places from which they came, without taking delight in the ample store of choice epithets with which the poet graces these last. Here are some examples (as they appear in the Lang-Leaf-Myers rendering): rocky Aulis . . . Eteonos full of ridges . . . Mykalessos with wide lawns . . . Thisbe haunt of doves . . . grassy Haliartos . . . Arne rich in vineyards . . . sacred Nisa . . . holy Euboia . . . Tiryns of the great walls . . . wealthy Corinth . . . steep Gonoessa . . . Orchomenos abounding in flocks . . . windy Enispe . . . lovely Mantineia . . . goodly Elis . . . chalky Lykastos . . . Hellas the home of fair women . . . flowery Pyrasos . . . Iton mother of flocks . . . Pteleos couched in grass . . . rugged Olizon . . . terraced Ithome . . . Neriton with quivering leafage . . . wintry Dodona.

Similar epithets are to be found in Shakespeare. To instance a few: fertile France . . . waterish Burgundy . . . goodly Ilion . . . high Olympus . . . old Nile . . . royal Rome . . . fair Padua, nursery of arts . . . Pisa renowned for grave citizens . . . fruitful Lombardy . . . sandy-bottom'd Severn . . . tawny Spain. Some, like *the smug and silver Trent* and *the still-vex'd Bermoothes,* give the imagination such a fillip that one can only wish Shakespeare had seen fit to supply many more.

In comparison with Homer, though, Shakespeare accompanies few of his place names with epithets. For example, among names of places, that of Scotland appears over a score of times in Shake-

speare's plays but never with an epithet; the same is true of Egypt, which appears almost twice as often. France and Rome are each mentioned hundreds of times, but qualifying epithets are rather rare. Even for England I have noted no more than a dozen epithets. This last fact most certainly does not imply any lack of patriotic feeling in Shakespeare. No more stirring lines have ever been written than those given to John of Gaunt (in Act II, Scene I of *Richard II*) in praise of England, "this sceptred isle."

To turn for a moment to the place names themselves, in his history plays Shakespeare naturally makes the most of the resounding names—like Pomfret Castle, the Tower, Goodwin Sands, Milford-Haven, Bosworth Field—which came down in the chronicles of Halle and Holinshed. But his allusions to places found near his own home are notable primarily for their rarity. It is true that in the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* are mentioned Burton heath (Barton-on-the-heath) and Wincot, villages near Stratford;[1] the Forest of Arden, though, in *As You Like It* is hardly identifiable with its namesake in Warwickshire or, indeed, with any terrestrial locale.[2] Possibly Shakespeare was not so place conscious as some poets. Certainly he shows little of that intense interest in the origin of names of places which the early Irish bards repeatedly exhibit.

We may note, as being relevant here, Shakespeare's indifference to matters of local color, and of geography generally, unless they furthered his particular dramatic purpose. For example, mention of the Rialto, of ducats, and of magnificoes sufficed, along with some Italian personal names for the characters, to create Venice for Shakespeare's audience;[3] and so far as place names or local color goes, Illyria and the high jinks which took place there on a certain Twelfth Night might just as well have adorned the moon.

Homer's attitude in the *Iliad* toward place names and their epithets appears to have been quite different. Reciting the deeds of heroes, presumably in the courts of nobles who accounted themselves the not unworthy descendants of those heroes, he may often have had an additional motive for embellishing a place name with special care. It *might* designate the home of his present host. Whatever his reason, we are grateful to Homer for the many vividly epitheted place names which help to re-create for us the ancient land of the Achaians.

NOTES

[1] Concerning references to the Cotswold district in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and to the Gloucestershire village of Woodmancote (Woncot) in *King Henry IV, Part II*, see Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London, 1925), pp. 248, 240.

[2] See Francis Griffin Stokes, *A Dictionary of the Characters & Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1924), p. 21; also Edward H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925), p. 28.

[3] See Mario Praz, "Shakespeare's Italy," *Shakespeare Survey* 7, pp. 98–105.

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Russian Versions of American Place Names.—Transliteration from English to Russian and back to English is apt to create strange names for familiar places. Publicity on the proposed visit to Iowa by a delegation of Russian farmers has made *Aiova* and its capital, *De Moin* rather well-known to us, however. William F. Pyper, writing in the Bay City (Mich.) Times, tells us further that, according to the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, *Bei-Siti* is located in Michigan on the *Sagino* River near Lake *Guron*. Other Michigan cities are listed, says Pyper, as *Kalamazu, Dzhekson,* and *Maskigon.*

R. D. Roberts

◇ ◇ ◇

The following rhyme is made up of surnames found in the Los Angeles telephone directories:

Simm Pell Simon Mette Pye Mann
Goin Tudor Fair
Said Simm Pell Simon Tudor Pye Mann
Lett Mee Tay Sturr Ware
Said Derr Pye Manta Simm Pell Simon
Show Mee Furst Yure Penney
Said Simm Pell Simon Tudor Pye Mann
Deed Aye Haven Tenney

Archie R. McCrady

Surname Frequency and Stamp Collectors

R. D. ROBERTS

Any popular book about surnames for the American reader should deal with those most familiar to him. That is, it should concern the surnames most common in the United States. The author of such a book needs to ascertain which are the most common American surnames and he should make an effort to determine the meanings and origins of as many of them as he can.

The basis, then, for a book of this kind must be a representative sampling of American surnames. The requirement that the sample be representative is not easily met. An American of a particular national origin is more likely to favor certain trades, religious sects, and clubs or fraternal orders than others. He is more likely to set up his home in some parts of the country than others.

It is likely, therefore, that any occupational, religious, fraternal, or regional list of names will be biased in favor of names from one or two languages.

For these reasons, any list in private hands is likely to fall short of the ideal in some degree. We may presume, however, that the customer list of a mail order house—if the firm handles merchandise of general appeal, and the customers were obtained through national advertising—forms a representative sample of the American population.

It is on this presumption that I have compiled the accompanying table. It is to be the foundation of the books about American surnames which I have in progress. It results from the tabulation of the names of 52,952 persons, living in the United States and its territories, who made purchases from my mail order business (R. D. Roberts & Co., postage stamp dealers and importers) during the years 1938 through 1943. They were obtained almost entirely through advertising in publications of national circulation. The

table includes all names which appeared eight or more times in the sample. It is, as far as I know, the most extensive table of the sort in existence.

Stamp collecting is the most popular American hobby. There are no financial, physical, or educational requirements, nor is stamp collecting confined to any particular parts of the country. Its eight million followers make up a fair cross section of the total literate population.

This tabulation is to be considered as a moderately satisfactory listing of the most common surnames in the United States; it is one man's approach to the problem of which names should be used as the basis for a book about surnames for the American reader.

The following list is based on the 1146 most common surnames. The number in front of the name designates the order of commonness; the number after the name indicates the frequency distribution per 100,000 persons.

467	Abbott	28	742	Bacon	19
950	Abel	15	674	Baggett	21
951	Abrams	15	956	Bagley	15
20	Adams	189	957	Bahr	15
844	Adamson	17	57	Bailey	112
564	Adkins	25	743	Baird	19
952	Alden	15	21	Baker	189
953	Alderman	15	195	Baldwin	53
845	Aldridge	17	268	Ball	43
144	Alexander	66	744	Ballard	19
954	Alford	15	468	Banks	28
19	Allen	204	303	Barber	40
955	Allison	15	847	Barbour	17
267	Andersen	43	958	Barger	15
7	Anderson	355	353	Barker	36
80	Andrews	89	848	Barkley	17
376	Anthony	34	745	Barlow	19
78	Armstrong	91	45	Barnes	125
121	Arnold	72	184	Barnett	55
673	Aronson	21	959	Baron	15
741	Arthur	19	208	Barr	51
606	Ashton	23	138	Barrett	68
607	Atkins	23	469	Barry	28
352	Atkinson	36	245	Bartlett	47
565	Atwood	25	508	Barton	26
281	Austin	42	470	Bassett	28
608	Ayers	23	255	Bates	45
846	Babcock	17	960	Battles	15

224 Bauer 49
849 Baxter 17
961 Beal 15
962 Beale 15
377 Bean 34
850 Beane 17
509 Beard 26
963 Beardsley 15
851 Beatty 17
964 Beaver 15
225 Beck 49
226 Becker 49
965 Beckett 15
675 Beckman 21
609 Beers 23
108 Bell 77
966 Bellinger 15
324 Bender 38
407 Benedict 32
566 Benjamin 25
46 Bennett 125
354 Benson 36
510 Berg 26
746 Berger 19
852 Berman 17
610 Bernstein 23
209 Berry 51
511 Best 26
676 Beyer 21
747 Bieber 19
611 Bigelow 23
677 Billingsley 21
471 Bingham 28
436 Bird 30
185 Bishop 55
967 Bissell 15
97 Black 81
748 Blackburn 19
968 Blair 15
678 Blake 21
378 Blanchard 34
969 Blinn 15
853 Bloch 17
512 Bloom 26
513 Blum 26
567 Bolton 25
514 Bond 26
612 Boone 23
282 Booth 42
749 Boucher 19
171 Bowen 57
750 Bower 19
613 Bowers 23
210 Bowman 51
472 Boyce 28
158 Boyd 62
970 Boyer 15
172 Bradley 57
568 Bradshaw 25
854 Brady 17
971 Bragg 15
855 Brand 17
379 Brandt 34
679 Braun 21
751 Brennan 19
972 Brenner 15
380 Brewer 34
973 Brewster 15
304 Bridges 40
614 Briggs 23
974 Brigham 15
975 Brill 15
752 Bristow 19
437 Brock 30
856 Brooke 17
61 Brooks 106
5 Brown 495
569 Browne 25
857 Brunner 17
408 Bryan 32
173 Bryant 57
196 Buchanan 53
381 Buck 34
515 Buckley 26
615 Bull 23
976 Bunch 15
977 Bundy 15
978 Bunn 15
979 Burger 15
680 Burgess 21
409 Burke 32
858 Burkett 17
305 Burnett 40
859 Burnette 17
753 Burnham 19
186 Burns 55
980 Burr 15
981 Burroughs 15

982 Burt 15
438 Burton 30
211 Bush 51
860 Butcher 17
139 Butler 68
283 Byrd 42
983 Byrne 15
355 Caldwell 36
861 Calkins 17
306 Callahan 40
570 Cameron 25
984 Camp 15
27 Campbell 170
985 Cannon 15
754 Carey 19
986 Carlin 15
114 Carlson 76
681 Carney 21
140 Carpenter 68
356 Carr 36
246 Carroll 47
382 Carson 34
58 Carter 112
862 Carver 17
616 Cary 23
473 Case 28
383 Casey 34
987 Cash 15
682 Chadwick 21
571 Chamberlain 25
307 Chambers 40
212 Chandler 51
98 Chapman 81
988 Charles 15
755 Charlton 19
683 Chase 21
617 Cherry 23
756 Chester 19
989 Chipman 15
174 Christensen 57
384 Christian 34
863 Christiansen 17
864 Christie 17
474 Church 28
990 Claflin 15
757 Clapp 19
12 Clark 276
109 Clarke 77
618 Clayton 23
991 Clemens 15
992 Clement 15
410 Clough 32
325 Cobb 38
993 Coburn 15
684 Cochran 21
865 Cochrane 17
619 Coffin 23
150 Cohen 64
516 Cohn 26
162 Cole 60
572 Coleman 25
326 Collier 38
62 Collins 106
758 Colvin 19
759 Combs 19
573 Compton 25
760 Cone 19
994 Conklin 15
995 Conley 15
866 Connell 17
517 Conner 26
475 Connor 28
518 Conrad 26
867 Conway 17
34 Cook 151
685 Cooke 21
519 Cooley 26
996 Coon 15
47 Cooper 121
476 Copeland 28
520 Corbin 26
997 Cotton 15
761 Couch 19
686 Courtney 21
102 Cox 79
998 Craft 15
213 Craig 51
327 Crane 38
159 Crawford 62
762 Creed 19
763 Croft 19
999 Cromwell 15
868 Crosby 17
175 Cross 57
385 Crouch 34
687 Crowley 21
521 Cummings 26
247 Cunningham 47

1000 Curran 15
439 Curry 30
227 Curtis 49
477 Dale 28
869 Dalton 17
1001 Damon 15
688 Daniel 21
228 Daniels 49
764 Darling 19
1002 Daugherty 15
765 Davenport 19
122 Davidson 72
870 Davies 17
8 Davis 461
214 Dawson 51
130 Day 70
215 Dean 51
522 Decker 26
478 Dennis 28
1003 Dewey 15
1004 Dial 15
620 Dick 23
689 Dickerson 21
1005 Dickey 15
871 Dickinson 17
766 Dietrich 19
523 Dietz 26
767 Dill 19
411 Dillon 32
308 Dixon 40
872 Dobbins 17
873 Dobson 17
309 Dodge 40
524 Doherty 26
874 Donahue 17
525 Donaldson 26
690 Dougherty 21
357 Douglas 36
1006 Dow 15
768 Downey 19
621 Downing 23
1007 Doyle 15
328 Drake 38
386 Dudley 34
769 Duke 19
131 Duncan 70
875 Dunlap 17
81 Dunn 89
622 Dutton 23
623 Dwyer 23
574 Dye 25
575 Dyer 25
576 Eaton 25
1008 Eby 15
1009 Edgar 15
876 Edmonds 17
53 Edwards 115
132 Elliott 70
67 Ellis 102
691 Ellison 21
577 Ely 25
692 Emerson 21
877 Emery 17
1010 Engelhardt 15
358 English 36
387 Erickson 34
624 Ernst 23
625 Erwin 23
479 Estes 28
40 Evans 132
626 Everett 23
770 Ewell 19
412 Ewing 32
1011 Fairbanks 15
878 Farley 17
578 Farmer 25
1012 Farnsworth 15
627 Farrell 23
1013 Faulkner 15
1014 Fawcett 15
771 Fay 19
163 Ferguson 60
693 Field 21
310 Fields 40
879 Fincher 17
1015 Firth 15
164 Fischer 60
579 Fish 25
41 Fisher 132
1016 Fisk 15
526 Fitch 26
413 Fitzgerald 32
880 Fitzpatrick 17
359 Fleming 36
480 Fletcher 28
1017 Flynn 15
481 Foley 28
694 Forbes 21

123 Ford 72
628 Foss 23
70 Foster 100
229 Fowler 49
54 Fox 115
629 Francis 23
329 Frank 38
311 Franklin 40
881 Frantz 17
360 Fraser 38
482 Frazier 28
580 Frederick 25
269 Freeman 43
124 French 72
527 Frey 26
388 Friedman 34
389 Frost 34
772 Fry 19
284 Fuller 42
528 Fulton 26
440 Funk 30
1018 Gaines 15
414 Gallagher 32
1019 Gamble 15
630 Garcia 23
110 Gardner 77
361 Garrett 36
773 Garrison 19
312 Gates 40
415 Gay 32
1020 Gentry 15
330 George 38
483 Gibbs 28
160 Gibson 62
115 Gilbert 76
695 Giles 21
774 Gill 19
882 Gilman 17
270 Gilmore 43
529 Glass 26
1021 Glenn 15
256 Glover 45
883 Goddard 17
1022 Godfrey 15
631 Goff 23
775 Goldberg 19
441 Golden 30
362 Goldman 36
390 Goldstein 34
632 Gomez 23
484 Good 28
1023 Goodall 15
581 Goodman 25
230 Goodwin 49
49 Gordon 117
696 Gore 21
248 Gould 47
87 Graham 85
88 Grant 85
216 Graves 51
43 Gray 129
63 Green 106
217 Greene 51
776 Greenwood 19
1024 Gregory 15
103 Griffin 79
313 Griffith 40
884 Griffiths 17
231 Gross 49
1025 Grossman 15
633 Gustafson 23
777 Guthrie 19
391 Haas 34
885 Haase 17
697 Hackett 21
530 Hahn 26
698 Haines 21
271 Hale 43
634 Haley 23
13 Hall 265
1026 Ham 15
141 Hamilton 68
635 Hamlin 23
531 Hammond 26
485 Hampton 28
582 Hancock 25
1027 Handy 15
83 Hansen 87
99 Hanson 81
486 Hardy 28
363 Harmon 36
165 Harper 60
778 Harrell 19
285 Harrington 42
17 Harris 246
161 Harrison 62
133 Hart 70
532 Hartman 26

197 Harvey 53
779 Harwell 19
780 Haskell 19
781 Hastings 19
886 Hatch 17
1028 Haugen 15
249 Hawkins 47
583 Hayden 25
151 Hayes 64
584 Hays 25
314 Haynes 40
416 Hayward 32
1029 Healy 15
699 Heath 21
887 Hecht 17
1030 Hedrick 15
1031 Heim 15
782 Heller 19
71 Henderson 98
888 Hendricks 17
700 Hendrickson 21
134 Henry 70
1032 Henshaw 15
1033 Hensley 15
889 Henson 17
783 Herbert 19
701 Herman 21
1034 Herndon 15
636 Herrick 23
1035 Herring 15
1036 Herron 15
637 Herzog 23
257 Hess 45
890 Hewitt 17
286 Hicks 42
42 Hill 132
1037 Hills 15
533 Hilton 26
585 Hines 25
1038 Hinkle 15
442 Hirsch 30
1039 Hobbs 15
487 Hodge 28
364 Hodges 36
75 Hoffman 95
891 Hoffmann 17
892 Hofmann 17
417 Hogan 32
1040 Hogue 15
638 Holden 23
331 Holland 38
1041 Holliday 15
702 Hollingsworth 21
784 Holman 19
116 Holmes 76
287 Holt 42
1042 Homan 15
443 Hood 30
288 Hooper 42
258 Hoover 45
259 Hopkins 45
1043 Hopper 15
785 Horn 19
639 Horne 23
586 Horton 25
893 Horwitz 17
786 House 19
787 Houston 19
50 Howard 117
176 Howe 57
332 Howell 38
272 Hubbard 43
289 Huber 42
232 Hudson 49
640 Huff 23
534 Huffman 26
72 Hughes 98
444 Hull 30
894 Hume 17
703 Humphrey 21
100 Hunt 81
145 Hunter 66
587 Huntington 25
1044 Huntley 15
788 Hurd 19
1045 Hurley 15
704 Hurst 21
315 Hutchinson 40
535 Hutchison 26
895 Hyde 17
1046 Hyman 15
273 Ingram 43
1047 Irwin 15
1048 Iverson 15
641 Ivey 23
32 Jackson 159
117 Jacobs 76
488 Jacobson 28

64 James 106
789 Jarrett 19
896 Jeffery 17
152 Jenkins 64
489 Jennings 28
92 Jensen 83
790 Jewell 19
1049 Jewett 15
897 Johansen 17
2 Johnson 605
65 Johnston 106
3 Jones 544
187 Jordan 55
418 Joyce 32
445 Joyner 30
705 Kahn 21
392 Kaiser 34
490 Kane 28
316 Kaplan 40
1050 Katz 15
536 Kauffman 26
393 Kaufman 34
706 Keeler 21
1051 Keen 15
791 Keith 19
153 Keller 64
135 Kelley 70
1052 Kellogg 15
111 Kelly 77
792 Kemp 19
1053 Kendall 15
898 Kendrick 17
125 Kennedy 72
365 Kenney 36
233 Kent 49
642 Kenyon 23
899 Kern 17
218 Kerr 51
707 Kessler 21
643 Kidd 23
491 Kimble 28
16 King 253
366 Kinney 36
793 Kirby 19
419 Kirk 32
333 Kirkpatrick 38
146 Klein 66
446 Kline 30
1054 Klinger 15
1055 Knapp 15
219 Knight 51
1056 Knipe 15
1057 Knowles 15
420 Knox 32
447 Koch 30
588 Kohn 25
589 Kramer 25
708 Krause 21
900 Kuhn 17
644 Kurtz 23
1058 Lacey 15
1059 Lackey 15
901 Laing 17
645 Laird 23
421 Lake 32
394 Lamb 34
274 Lambert 43
902 Lancaster 17
1060 Land 15
794 Landis 19
104 Lane 79
250 Lang 47
795 Langdon 19
537 Lange 26
1061 Lansing 15
590 Larsen 25
154 Larson 64
903 Latham 17
260 Lawrence 45
646 Lawson 23
1062 Leach 15
35 Lee 151
1063 Leggett 15
334 Lehman 38
904 Leigh 17
1064 Lentz 15
1065 Leon 15
335 Leonard 38
1066 Leslie 15
1067 Lester 15
709 Levin 21
448 Levine 30
905 Levitt 17
710 Levy 21
28 Lewis 170
1068 Lieberman 15
1069 Lightfoot 15
906 Lindgren 17
422 Lindsay 32
492 Lindsey 28

261 Little 45
449 Livingston 30
591 Lloyd 25
796 Locke 19
1070 Lockhart 15
493 Logan 28
166 Long 60
234 Love 49
797 Lovelace 19
798 Low 19
450 Lowe 30
1071 Lowery 15
336 Lucas 38
907 Luke 17
1072 Lund 15
908 Lundgren 17
1073 Lutz 15
1074 Lyman 15
126 Lynch 72
317 Lyon 40
367 Lyons 36
235 MacDonald 49
799 Mack 19
1075 Mackey 15
909 Maddox 17
910 Madison 17
1076 Madsen 15
1077 Magee 15
711 Maher 21
1078 Mahoney 15
423 Malone 32
337 Mann 38
220 Manning 51
712 Mansfield 21
451 Marks 30
167 Marsh 60
89 Marshall 85
14 Martin 265
911 Martinez 17
1079 Marvin 15
142 Mason 68
452 Massey 30
494 Mathews 28
912 Mathias 17
647 Mathis 23
188 Matthews 55
1080 Maule 15
800 Maurer 19
368 Maxwell 36
275 May 43
198 Mayer 53
801 Mayfield 19
395 Maynard 34
802 Mayo 19
713 McBride 21
714 McCandless 21
396 McCarthy 34
495 McClain 28
453 McClelland 30
454 McConnell 30
592 McCormack 25
538 McCormick 26
136 McCoy 70
803 McCracken 19
1081 McCreary 15
539 McDaniel 26
177 McDonald 57
1082 McDowell 15
715 McFarland 21
648 McGee 23
913 McGowan 17
804 McGuire 19
424 McIntyre 32
716 McIntosh 21
649 McKay 23
540 McKee 26
425 McKenzie 32
276 McKinney 43
1083 McLaughlin 15
369 McLean 36
914 McMahon 17
915 McManus 17
455 McMillan 30
916 McMillen 17
917 McNeil 17
1084 McPherson 15
805 Mead 19
1085 Means 15
541 Melton 26
806 Mercer 19
807 Merrill 19
808 Metcalf 19
456 Metzger 30
84 Meyer 87
262 Meyers 45
717 Michael 21
918 Michel 17
496 Middleton 28
251 Miles 47
4 Miller 499

650 Milligan 23
127 Mills 72
48 Mitchell 121
1086 Moffett 15
397 Monroe 34
137 Montgomery 70
809 Moon 19
18 Moore 215
542 Moran 26
1087 Moreland 15
543 Morey 26
73 Morgan 98
497 Morrell 28
39 Morris 136
221 Morrison 51
718 Morrissey 21
263 Morse 45
498 Morton 28
1088 Moser 15
810 Moses 19
719 Moulton 21
236 Mueller 49
720 Mullen 21
593 Muller 25
1089 Munson 15
811 Murdock 19
237 Murray 49
51 Myers 117
222 Nash 51
651 Neal 23
44 Nelson 129
919 Nesbitt 17
920 Neumann 17
155 Newman 64
178 Newton 57
90 Nichols 85
277 Nicholson 43
199 Nielsen 53
1090 Nixon 15
499 Noble 28
1091 Nolan 15
318 Norman 40
290 Norris 42
338 Norton 38
812 Novak 19
1092 Nye 15
168 O'Brien 60
426 O'Connell 32
427 O'Connor 32
594 O'Donnell 25
813 Ogden 19
370 Oliver 36
595 Olsen 25
128 Olson 72
319 O'Neal 40
921 O'Neil 17
1093 O'Neill 15
457 Orr 30
652 Osborn 23
500 Osborne 28
922 O'Toole 17
1094 Ott 15
278 Owen 43
252 Owens 47
814 Owsley 19
1095 Pace 15
320 Page 40
101 Palmer 81
36 Parker 147
85 Parks 87
1096 Parr 15
428 Parrish 32
253 Parsons 47
544 Patrick 26
59 Patterson 110
923 Patton 17
458 Paul 30
189 Payne 55
1097 Peacock 15
371 Pearce 36
501 Pearson 28
398 Peck 34
721 Pedersen 21
815 Pennington 19
147 Perkins 66
86 Perry 87
156 Peters 64
545 Petersen 26
37 Peterson 147
1098 Pettit 15
546 Pfeiffer 26
339 Phelps 38
60 Phillips 110
55 Pierce 113
924 Pierson 17
653 Pike 23
722 Pinkham 21
1099 Piper 15
1100 Pitcher 15
502 Pittman 28

654 Pitts 23
816 Plant 19
817 Polk 19
459 Pollock 30
503 Pool 28
596 Poole 25
723 Pope 21
200 Porter 53
1101 Posey 15
340 Potter 38
818 Potts 19
201 Powell 53
179 Powers 57
202 Pratt 53
429 Preston 32
76 Price 95
724 Prince 21
725 Pryor 21
925 Puckett 17
1102 Pullen 15
1103 Purvis 15
819 Putnam 19
926 Quigley 17
341 Quinn 38
1104 Raines 15
291 Ramsey 42
190 Randall 55
1105 Randolph 15
399 Rankin 34
118 Ray 76
321 Raymond 40
726 Read 21
77 Reed 95
927 Reese 17
279 Reeves 43
1106 Reichert 15
292 Reid 42
820 Reilly 19
547 Reinhardt 26
112 Reynolds 77
238 Rhodes 49
79 Rice 91
254 Rich 47
372 Richards 36
119 Richardson 76
239 Richter 49
928 Ricketts 17
655 Riddle 23
1107 Rider 15
342 Riley 38
504 Ritter 28
821 Roach 19
343 Robbins 38
727 Roberson 21
24 Roberts 178
93 Robertson 83
23 Robinson 181
597 Robison 25
1108 Roche 15
344 Rodgers 38
1109 Roe 15
33 Rogers 155
656 Root 23
105 Rose 79
929 Rosenbaum 17
822 Rosenberg 19
400 Rosenthal 34
180 Ross 57
430 Roth 32
930 Rothschild 17
1110 Rouse 15
1111 Roush 15
373 Rowe 36
1112 Rowell 15
931 Rowland 17
1113 Roy 15
1114 Runyan 15
548 Rush 26
68 Russell 102
1115 Ruth 15
191 Ryan 55
823 Ryder 19
932 Sadler 17
824 St. John 19
657 Sampson 23
143 Sanders 68
598 Sanderson 25
549 Sanford 26
728 Sargent 21
1116 Satterfield 15
505 Saunders 28
658 Savage 23
293 Sawyer 42
1117 Saxton 15
431 Schaefer 32
113 Schmidt 77
401 Schmitt 34
203 Schneider 53
825 Schrader 19
374 Schroeder 36

933 Schuler 17
264 Schultz 45
826 Schumacher 19
1118 Schumm 15
934 Schuster 17
265 Schwartz 45
460 Schwarz 30
25 Scott 174
1119 Seaver 15
935 Seeley 17
1120 Selby 15
659 Sellers 23
432 Shaffer 32
729 Shannon 21
204 Sharp 53
827 Sharpe 19
91 Shaw 85
730 Shearer 21
1121 Sheehy 15
599 Sheldon 25
1122 Shelley 15
402 Shelton 34
731 Shepard 21
660 Shields 23
600 Shoemaker 25
1123 Shook 15
403 Short 34
661 Siegel 23
461 Simmons 30
240 Simon 49
936 Simons 17
94 Simpson 83
601 Sims 25
937 Sinclair 17
1124 Singer 15
1125 Skaggs 15
828 Skidmore 19
506 Skinner 28
938 Slater 17
462 Small 30
1 Smith 1081
404 Snow 34
95 Snyder 83
345 Solomon 38
732 Sorensen 21
829 Soule 19
346 Sparks 38
148 Spencer 66
662 Sprague 23
1126 Spring 15
830 Springer 19
433 Stafford 32
550 Stahl 26
280 Stanley 43
602 Stanton 25
831 Stark 19
347 Starr 38
551 Stearns 26
348 Steele 38
463 Stein 30
322 Stephens 40
464 Stephenson 30
663 Sterling 23
552 Stern 26
82 Stevens 89
192 Stevenson 55
30 Stewart 163
553 Stockton 26
1127 Stoddard 15
66 Stone 106
832 Stoner 19
1128 Storm 15
939 Stout 17
1129 Stover 15
349 Stratton 38
554 Strauss 26
1130 Strickland 15
603 Strong 25
1131 Strouse 15
940 Stuart 17
96 Sullivan 83
555 Summers 26
733 Sutherland 21
294 Sutton 42
941 Swan 17
205 Swanson 53
734 Swartz 21
323 Sweeney 40
405 Sweet 34
833 Swift 19
1132 Swisher 15
735 Tanner 21
556 Tate 26
10 Taylor 321
1133 Temple 15
834 Tennant 19
241 Terry 49
26 Thomas 174
15 Thompson 265
434 Thomson 32

1134 Thorne 15
465 Thornton 30
664 Thorpe 23
835 Tipton 19
942 Tisdale 17
836 Tobin 19
193 Todd 55
266 Townsend 45
1135 Trout 15
169 Tucker 60
56 Turner 113
665 Tuttle 23
557 Tyler 26
736 Ulrich 21
737 Underwood 21
666 Unger 23
837 Van Buskirk 19
435 Vance 32
667 Vaughan 23
668 Vaughn 23
838 Vinson 19
1136 Volk 15
295 Wade 42
149 Wagner 66
669 Waite 23
670 Waldron 23
29 Walker 166
671 Wall 23
106 Wallace 79
1137 Waller 15
558 Walsh 26
738 Walter 21
194 Walters 55
839 Walton 19
52 Ward 117
840 Ware 19
181 Warner 57
120 Warren 76
943 Washburn 17
507 Waters 28
296 Watkins 42
69 Watson 102
297 Watts 42
242 Weaver 49
129 Webb 72
559 Webber 26
206 Weber 53
298 Webster 42
1138 Weed 15
406 Weeks 34
944 Weiler 17
1139 Weimer 15
945 Weiner 17
157 Weiss 64
207 Welch 53
739 Welsh 21
74 Wells 98
560 Werner 26
107 West 79
1140 Wetzel 15
1141 Wheat 15
299 Wheeler 42
841 Whipple 19
946 Whitaker 17
1142 Whitcomb 15
11 White 284
604 Whitehead 25
1143 Whiting 15
1144 Whitman 15
561 Whitney 26
1145 Wilbur 15
300 Wilcox 42
562 Wiley 26
223 Wilkinson 51
605 Willard 25
8 Williams 338
170 Williamson 60
301 Willis 42
9 Wilson 325
740 Winn 21
672 Winslow 23
947 Winter 17
948 Wirth 17
302 Wise 42
949 Wolcott 17
182 Wolf 57
466 Wolfe 30
350 Wolff 38
38 Wood 144
375 Woodruff 36
183 Woods 57
351 Woodward 38
842 Workman 19
22 Wright 189
563 Wyatt 26
843 Wynne 19
243 Yates 49
31 Young 163
1146 Zeller 15
244 Zimmerman 49

Yosemite and Tamalpais

MADISON S. BEELER

Recent work on a California Indian language belonging to the linguistic stock called Miwok has familiarized me with the literature on the languages of that family, and particularly with the publications of Lucy Freeland de Angulo, who is the authority on the subject. The following two place names derived from Miwok are presented to draw the attention of onomatologists to work which may have escaped their notice.

The name of Yosemite[1] has been connected with the Sierra Miwok word for '(grizzly-)bear' and with a collective noun meaning 'the killers' or 'a band of killers.' In Mrs. Freeland's "Language of the Sierra Miwok"[2] 'bear' appears as *ïšḯ·mati* (p. 3) and *yošé·me̱ti* is defined as 'the Killers' (p. 159). These words, although of course distinct in the native tongue, show a notable degree of similarity in their phonological structure, and a confusion between them, or their being taken as variant forms of a single term is easily understandable on the part of those unfamiliar with the language. That the second, and not the first, is the true etymon is most likely. In the first place, the word for 'bear' lacks the initial *y-*, and the high central vowel (transcribed *ï*) of its initial syllable was commonly equated by Spanish speakers with their vowel *e* and by Anglo-Americans either with *ü* or with *u*. And secondly, *yoš-é·-me̱ti* fits readily into the morphological pattern of Miwok: the suffixation to the verbal root yóš- 'to kill' of the morpheme *-e-* 'one who, that which, does something' yields the agent noun *yoše·-* 'killer,' and this is pluralized by the addition of *-me̱ti,* "a pluralizing suffix, probably more or less collective in meaning, used in all dialects" (op. cit., p. 158). The variant *yohé·me̱ti?,* proper to the southern or Mariposa dialect of Sierra Miwok, in whose range the famous valley lies, indicates that the word first was heard by white men

from the lips of speakers of the more northerly dialects. "This [the form with -š-] is the name which was applied by the neighboring Miwok to the dwellers in Yosemite Valley, who appear to have been (at least in historic times) a band of renegades from various tribes" (op. cit. p. 159).

The accepted etymology[3] of Mt. Tamalpais, the name of one of the most prominent landmarks of the San Francisco bay region, derives the word from the Coast Miwok *tamal,* defined as 'bay,' and *paiyīs* 'mountain.' In this etymology, which goes back to Merriam[4] and Barrett,[5] the second element has beyond doubt been correctly identified and defined. But there is some question about the meaning of the first; for Freeland[6] tells us that in the language of the Lake Miwok, a distinct branch of the western Miwok who dwelt some fifty or sixty miles to the north of their relatives along San Francisco bay and who were separated from them by the quite unrelated Wappo, there occurs the name *"tamál-pawi* 'Mt. Tamalpais,' literally 'west mountain,' from *támal* 'west' and *páwi* 'mountain'." The following remarks are presented in support of the contention that there has been a misinterpretation of the toponymic material coming from the Miwok Indians of Marin county, and that the primary meaning of *tamal* there was 'west,' as it certainly was in Lake County.

The confusion can, I think, be made plausible by geography. If the name of a point of land which has a westerly trend and which lies along a bay contains *tamal,* that element could be taken as referring either to the western location or to the nearby bay. To me the first of these alternatives makes better sense; and I think the available evidence supports my contention.

In addition to *Tamalpais* there are five *tamal* names recorded for Marin County. There were the Indians called variously the Tamales, Tomales, Tamalanos, who according to Bancroft[7] lived along the coast from the Golden Gate north to Pt. Reyes; and there is Tomales bay, presumably named (by the Spaniards?) for those Indians. Then we have the most westerly cape in the region, called by us Pt. Reyes and by the Indians *tamal-hūīye;*[8] and along with it the western promontory separating Tomales bay from the ocean (Tomales Pt.[9] = the Indian *tam-mal hoo-yah;* in these last two names *hūīye* or *hoo-yah* is given as the equivalent of 'point'). And

finally, on the map of Coast Miwok territory and settlements on p. 274 of Kroeber's 'Handbook,'[10] we find the name of an Indian village *Echa-tamal,* situated near the modern town of Nicasio and some seven or eight miles distant from the nearest salt water, the southern end of Tomales bay. All of these places, including Mt. Tamalpais and the territory occupied by the Indians along the ocean front, lay to the west of the relatively heavily populated areas along the western shores of San Francisco bay and northward up Petaluma Creek, areas with which the Spaniards first came in contact and where they accordingly first heard some of these names. A hypothesis that *tamal* meant 'west' seems to me to fit these facts rather better than the given meaning of 'bay.' It also seems to me, I confess, at least questionable that the Indians of the region, with their limited geographic horizon, had a well-defined concept 'bay' that would include such topographically distinct configurations as the large, landlocked body of water we call the bay of San Francisco, the broad open gulf of Drake's bay, and the narrow, fjord-like Tomales bay.

In Lake County, as we have seen, *Tamal-páwi* 'West Mt.' was the name of Mt. Tamalpais. But the mountain cannot have been so named by the speakers of Lake Miwok, for it lies some fifty or sixty miles almost due south of them. Accordingly, since there is evidence of intercourse between these separate groups, the word *tamal-páwi* must be a borrowing from the south; and in this borrowing, although the second component of the compound was transposed from *paiyīs* into *pawi,* the first was left unchanged. A name 'West Mt.' for Tamalpais, as used by Miwok speakers, makes sense only from the point of view of dwellers in the general vicinity of San Rafael, in whose language, therefore, *tamal* must have meant 'west.'

In Sierra Miwok,[11] as well as in the western dialects, the term *tamal-* was a directional term rather than a word for a body of water, although it there has the meaning 'north.' (Similarly, the eastern *ʔolow-* 'west' corresponds to the western *ʔolo-* 'south'). And among the eastern Miwok it was normal practice to refer to neighboring Indians as 'northerners' (Tamuleko) and 'westerners' (Olokok), a practice which is here assumed for their distant relatives in the west.

We would do better, therefore, in my opinion, to think of Tamalpais as the 'western mountain' rather than the 'bay mountain.'

NOTES

[1] For a discussion and a bibliography see Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names,* 1949, s.v.

[2] *Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics,* Memoir 6 of the *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 1951.

[3] Gudde, *op. cit.,* s.v.

[4] C. Hart Merriam, "Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock of California," *American Anthropologist* n.s. 8 (1907). 355, n. 2.

[5] S. A. Barrett, "The Ethnogeography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," *UCPAAE* 6(1908). 308, n. 389.

[6] L. S. Freeland, "Western Miwok Texts with Linguistic Sketch," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 13(1947). 37.

[7] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races* 1 (1883). 363. The information was derived from Alexander Taylor.

[8] Barrett, *loc. cit.,* p. 307.

[9] Merriam, *loc. cit.,* p. 355.

[10] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California,* 1925.

[11] Kroeber, *op. cit.,* p. 444.

◇ ◇ ◇

One Eye Creek, Texas.—J. Frank Dobie states, without citing a source, that the small stream in Cherokee County "is said to be named after a Cherokee chief who lived on it before Christian charity shot out his other eye and appropriated his homestead" (Straight Texas, *Pub. Texas Folk-lore Soc.,* No. 13, 1937, p. 42). Although this sounds like popular etymology, and a derivation from Hainai or Ioni seems more logical, the existence of a Cherokee so called is documented. An inquiry at the General Land Office, Austin, Texas, revealed a record of the James F. Timmons Survey, Republic of Texas (File No. 1-254), dated August 19, 1839, which contains the following statement: "Situated on the waters of Neches River in Cherokee Nation near One Eyes place."

T. N. Campbell

Names in Brief

Port Tobacco Again.—F. W. H.'s item on *Port Tobacco* ("Names in Brief," *Names,* III:1) suggests this short resume of some of the other interesting Indian place name folk etymologies and etiological tales that abound in tidal Maryland. Perhaps the most intriguing examples are *Brockatonorton Bay, Rockawalking Creek, Transquaking Creek* and *Vienna.* Messrs. Brock and Norton may seem, at first glance, to have been commemorated by *Brockatonorton.* In truth, however, the name is probably a corruption of the Powhatan word for 'fire' (Strachey *boketawh,* Smith *Pokatawer*) and a suffix (Cf.: Fox *-enāg,* 'country,' 'land,' 'village') meaning 'people.' I conclude that near Brockatonorton Bay, on Boxiron Creek (<*Bog iron*), the Indians mined and smelted bog iron. Rockawalking is where "Mr. Rock" is said to have come one day, "a-walking." Like *Rockaway,* L. I. (which was *Rechouwhacky* in 1639), the name's chief component may really be the local Algonquian word for 'sand,' whose Primitive Algonquian prototype would be **läkaw-* (appearing with initial *r,* in an *r*-dialect). *Transquaking* suggests a watercourse in transit through a quaking region or bog. Actually, the name appears to contain Delaware *talala* (*tarara,* in an *r*-dialect), 'white cedar.' Its meaning, on this supposition, would be, 'There is a white cedar swamp a-growing.' Of all these names, *Vienna* is the most difficult to explain. They who derive it from *Unna*cocassinon, the name of an Emperor of the Nanticoke, seem to have naively spelled out the opening letters of *Vnna*cocassinon (Folk: V-n-a . . .), as it was printed in some seventeenth century records. And they who feel that it comes indirectly from the Austrian city (*Wien*>*Vienna*) can find no local history to support them.

As for *Port Tobacco,* whose earliest historic occurrence was probably as *Potopaco* on Smith's 1608 map of Virginia, the original application of the name was not to a village but to a stream whose upper course is called *Port Tobacco Creek,* and whose lower course is called *Port Tobacco River,* a tributary of the Potomac. The village (100 pop.) is on the creek. Though the guide book, *Maryland,*

A Guide to the Old Line State (1940), states that Port Tobacco was "the most important of the many Maryland ports on the Potomac ruined by the silting up of the creek at its landing," it appears reasonable (as borne out by early map spellings) to agree with F. W. H. that the designation is a folk etymology of Smith's *Potopaco,* an Algonquian name based on the initial stem *pot-* ('into') and signifying, 'An inland jutting of the water.' The last extensive article on the subject, so far as I am aware, was Ethel Roby Hayden's "Port Tobacco, Lost Town of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XL: 4, Dec., 1945, pp. 261–76).

Because the Indian place names of America are from complicated indigenous languages, they require greater study and space than the comparatively obvious place names that have been introduced from abroad. Though today these aboriginal names have become a part of the English language and have taken on English pronunciations, they cannot be explained correctly without close attention to the native tongues they are from. For the past five years I have been engaged in a study of the Indian place names of Maryland, and I hope to complete a book on this subject within the coming year. I have endeavored, in my etymologies, to find meanings that are consistent with the topographical features of the places, and in this light I have examined over one hundred and fifty Maryland place and geographic names. Practically every earlier Maryland Indian place name etymology has been revised in the light of the newer Algonquian linguistic developments. At present I am composing an Introductory Essay which will deal with the ethnological and migratory significance of the names, discuss the folk etymologies that have been made of them, and comprise a short history of Algonquian linguistics from the comparative standpoint.

HAMIL KENNY

Chippoaks and Rohoic.—These names, of apparently no more than local and state-wide interest, warrant consideration by onomatologists at large. Etymologically they belong to a special class, present spellings and pronunciations having resulted from recurrent systematic different successive abbreviations, with result that changes in pronunciation followed changes in spellings.

Chippoaks (a farm and creek name, Surry Co., Va.) derives from

Chawopoweanoc, freely 'Southern point of Weanoc,' the southernmost of the three Weanoc tribal countries, in James river valley, Va. Though Strachey, *c.* 1610–13, spelt name of its tribal chief Chippoxes, Smith, *c.* 1607–8 styles tribe Chawopoweyanocke, and *c.* 1654, a tithe precinct, approximately coterminous with tribal country, was known as Chawopoweyanoke. By dropping one or two letters each year in repetitive copying, public quill scriveners stabilized abbreviations at Chippoaks *c.* 1700, while in title records, written by the best informed, the long original spelling continued for some years. Finally, Chippoaks became the accepted spelling and pronunciation.

Rohoic (name of run, now western limits of Petersburg, Va.) derives, not as so often publicized from an Indian tribal name, but from the Scotch border name Rhodhohowick ('Robert Bolling's Rhodhohowick lands,' which at time he acquired them were on the official boundary between Indian country and the colony proper). In a like manner every five years in Processioners' Reports the long original was systematically abbreviated differently each time until stabilized at Rohoic *c.* 1760, while the few who knew what the abbreviation stood for continued to use Rhodhohowick, until finally the abbreviation was adopted.

One might cite other examples of etymological changes by successive different abbreviations, motivated by economic considerations. It seems evident quill scriveners copying at a pittance per page had no conscious intent to change both spellings and pronunciation, but were concerned with saving time and trouble. In that such etymologies did not result from linguistic laws, they may be classed as artificial, rather than natural. These two examples seem sufficient to alert students to the probability the same phenomena may help explain other names in any of the oldest seated English sections of America.

Chas. Edgar Gilliam

News, Comments, Queries

Early Maps of the Americas.—In recent years the Service of Military Geography and History of the Spanish General Staff has published two sets of reproductions of early maps of the Americas existing in its archives, each with an accompanying volume supplementing these maps. The printed text, in addition to furnishing cartographic details about each map, lists all names by consecutive or political location and contains general historical information. The library of the Coast and Geodetic Survey was fortunate enough to receive these publications through normal exchange channels, and they constitute a very valuable source of information about the earliest use and degree of antiquity of many names. In no case do the records of the map making agencies of the Federal Government go back much more than 100 years, and it is always difficult to trace, from the available earlier sources, the history of names beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. In many instances the only reply that can be given to inquiries about the origin of names is to refer the interested parties to state or local historical societies.

Part I published in 1949 contains 88 maps and 491 pages of text. The period covered is from 1520 to 1838, with 10 maps of the 15th, 27 of the 17th, 46 of the 18th, and 5 of the nineteenth centuries. Almost all are small scale maps, with relatively few names in any country or political subdivision.

Part II was published in 1953, and is limited to maps of the United States, Canada, Alaska, and parts of Mexico and the West Indies. There are 138 maps and 582 pages of text. They are at a much larger scale and contain many names. Approximately half provide coverage for larger areas, but the remainder are listed under individual states. About 80 pages of the text contain historical information for the period from 1520 to 1817 about Spanish interests in Florida, Louisiana and Texas, as well as the early Anglo-Spanish conflict that eventually led to the establishment of a boundary between Georgia and Florida, and the final transfer of Florida to the United States.

Using the above maps as additional sources of information, it is planned to present a number of instances of names having an uncertain or disputed origin. In recent issues of *Names* there have been discussions about the origin of California and of Horekill in Delaware. In some cases there will be an attempt to pin down the precise origin of a name, while in others only partial information can be given, with an invitation to the readers of *Names* to contribute any additional details that may be known to them. There will also be some accounts of the many vicissitudes through which names have had to pass before reaching their present accepted forms.

Servicios Geografico e Historico del Ejercito
Estado Mayor Central
CARTOGRAFIA DE ULTRAMAR
Carpeta I
America en General
Toponimia de los mapas que la integran
Madrid
Imprenta del Servicio Geografico del Ejercito
1949
Carpeta II
Estados Unidos Y Canada
Toponimia de los mapas que la integran Relaciones de Ultramar
Madrid
1953

LEWIS HECK

Name Lore in California.—California writers, it seems, pay more attention to the geographical nomenclature of their state than do writers in any other region of the United States. In the September, 1954 issue of *Names,* Joseph N. Corcoran wrote a review of Thomas P. Brown's *Colorful California Names.* In the meantime two more regional studies have been published.

San Francisco Street Names by Henry C. Carlisle is another publication by the American Trust Company and, like Thomas Brown's little classic, is distributed free. The title is misleading. The author gives sketches of pioneers whose names are honored in San Francisco street names. It is questionable whether a whole page should be devoted to the old story of Sutter and the discovery of gold when so many interesting and colorful street names are simply disregarded. The Embarcadero and Dolores Street, Nob

Hill and Russian Hill, are not even mentioned. The public would doubtless be better served if the 50 odd pages of the splendidly printed booklet were given to succinct items of *all* the interesting and important names of San Francisco's streets and squares.

The second booklet, *Place Names in Yosemite Valley* by Richard J. Hartesveldt, likewise does not measure up to our standards of popular onomatology. The author is apparently unaware that all the names which he lists have been investigated and in most cases satisfactorily explained. If he had consulted the easily available literature, he could have written more interesting and more detailed items about such names as El Capitan, Merced, Wawona, Yosemite, etc.

ERWIN G. GUDDE

San Jose.—With reference to C. Grant Loomis' recent article "Names in American Limericks" I may say that the name, as far as I know, has never been pronounced "San Joe's," nor is the correct Spanish pronunciation normally used. It is occasionally called "San Josie" jokingly. The almost universal pronunciation by the inhabitants is "san–a–zay"—spoken as if it were one word, with a very slight accent on the last syllable. It has probably been thus ever since the careless-tongued Anglo-Saxon encountered the Spanish name.

WARREN H. BUELL

A Pronunciation Guide to Kansas Place Names.—This is a publication of the William Allen White School of Journalism of the University of Kansas. It is refreshing to observe that the editors try to give the pronunciations of the names just as the people pronounce them and not as they should be pronounced according to some linguistic authority. The names "have become thoroughly Americanized, yea, even Kansanized."

Book Reviews

Dutch Systems in Family Naming. By Rosalie Fellows Bailey. Washington, D.C. 1954. Pp. 21.

This is No. 12 of the Genealogical Publications of the National Genealogical Society, a reprint from the March and December, 1953, issues of the National Genealogical Society Quarterly.

Miss Fellows traces the development of Dutch family names in New York and New Jersey from the point of view of the genealogist. While it is clear that Dutch names were quite complicated, Miss Fellows asserts the Dutch method of naming to be very systematic even though it did not follow the English system.

It is pointed out that, among the Dutch in America, the identification by the father's first name, the patronymic, was the predominant system. Next, quite a few had surnames from places; another large group derived their surnames from their occupations; a rather small group derived their family names from personal characteristics, or nicknames. After marriage women continued to use their maiden surnames.

The work continues with an explanation of Dutch forenames in America and then returns to the Dutch corruption of names foreign to the Dutch. All in all this is a most interesting and authoritative discussion of Dutch names in America.

Elsdon C. Smith

Bulletin Analytique:—Philosophie. Edited by R. Bayer. (Paris, France: Centre de Documentation du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954. Pp. 1374).

This imposing reference work is sponsored by the French Ministry of Education. Although it is announced as a "Revue Trimestrielle" this volume, No. VIII, was published in four installments, each with a detailed table of contents. As the sub-title "Philosophie" indicates this section of the *Bulletin* is devoted to the subjects which we usually designate as humanities and social sciences. The volume lists not less than 15,927 books, monographs and

articles. Each entry gives the author, the title (repeated in French in the case of non-French publications), the publisher or periodical, and a short convenient summary of the contents. Where it is necessary to indicate the country of origin the editors do not say Etats Unis and Allemagne but U.S.A. and Deutschland—a practice which is gaining ground in Europe and which might well be followed in the United States. The immensity of the undertaking can be judged by the fact that the contents of more than 1600 periodicals are indexed and abstracted.

The bibliography on name research is treated somewhat meagerly. It is a subdivision, *Onomastique,* of the heading *Lexique,* in the section *Études particulières,* in the general division of *Linguistique et Philologie.* In the four issues only eighty-five items are treated, mostly in the French language, and forty references are made to onomatological items in other sections. None of the periodicals devoted to name research, except the *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique,* are indexed. This seems to be a serious shortcoming which, let us hope, will be remedied in future volumes.

ERWIN G. GUDDE

American Nicknames, Their Origin and Significance. By George Earlie Shankle. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Second Edition, 1955. Pp. vii, 524. $7.50)

Nicknames have not received much attention by scholars in this country, although the fact that surnames arose from nicknames exemplifies their importance. The psychological influence of nicknames and their effect on our school life, social life and political life should receive careful study.

Now, eighteen years after his work was first published, Dr. Shankle has brought out a second edition of his eminently usable and authoritative reference work, *American Surnames.* This is not, like so many second editions, just a reprint of the first. The work has been revised to include information about the nicknames of well-known persons that have arisen during the last twenty years, a period covering most of the New Deal and Fair Deal political era when many colorful personalities brought forth new nicknames. Space for the new material was obtained by eliminating reference

to nicknames of athletic teams of state teachers colleges and junior colleges as well as some self explanatory nicknames. The first edition ran to 599 pages while the second contains only 524 pages. Both editions had two columns to a page.

For each person, place or event listed the compiler has set out one or more nicknames together with some description of their origin. Care has been given to listing the sources from which the information was obtained, and these are set out after each entry. Much of the information has been gleaned from the biographical works, histories, newspapers, and magazines, as well as from personal interviews.

What might be learned from comparing the number of different nicknames applied to Franklin Delano Roosevelt with those given Theodore Roosevelt may provide some data for interpretation by future historians. (Three and one-half columns are devoted to Theodore Roosevelt while less than two describe Franklin Delano Roosevelt.) Perhaps Americans are now more courteous and respectful to those who govern.

The title of the work indicates that attention is given to the origin and significance of the nicknames. While it is true that the compiler has traced the origin of many nicknames, their significance has been almost totally neglected.

This is a valuable reference work which fills a need covered by no other book, and a second edition is very welcome.

Elsdon C. Smith

ANS Notes

In Memoriam —The *ANS* regrets the loss of another of its charter members. Guy C. Miller died on May 13, 1955, in Palo Alto, California. Mr. Miller was born in Salem, Oregon, the great-grandson of a western pioneer who came to Oregon in 1852. In 1904 he was the first letter carrier of Palo Alto. When he died he held the honorary position of City Historian of Palo Alto. For half a century he was engaged in the book trade and in historical research. Among other things he published a classical account of the meaning, origin, and application of the name Palo Alto.

Membership Roster.—There seems to be no definite reason to publish the annual list of members in the September issue. The addresses of all new members and subscribers are currently published and the changes of address which occur during the year do not seem to warrant the publication of a membership roster every year. However, if our members feel the necessity of an annual publication of the list of all members we shall gladly comply.

Annual Meeting.—This year's meeting of the *ANS* will be held in Chicago, Illinois, during the week between December 26th and 30th. Members who wish to read papers at the general session or have suggestions for the business meeting are urgently requested to write to Elsdon C. Smith, 322 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. The general meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 28, 2:00–3:30, Room 9, Palmer House.

NEW MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

Centre De Documentation, 16, Rue Pierre-Currie, Paris (V), France
P. Haase & Son, Lovstrade 8, Copenhagen, K, Denmark
Kelsie B. Harder, Youngstown College, Youngstown, Ohio
Frederick W. Hilbig, 1190 Elgin Avenue, Salt Lake City 1, Utah
Mr. Kiichi Jinbo, 8758 Bebaseki, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo, Japan
Dickson H. Leavens, 1632 Wood Avenue, Colorado Springs, Colorado
Ernest Maass, 67-38 108th Street, Forest Hills 75, New York
G. M. Munroe, Secretary, Board on Geographical Names, No. 8, Temporary Building, Ottawa, Canada
Public Library, 345 W Freemason Street, Norfolk 10, Virginia
Library, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, N.C.
Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma
Spokane Public Library, Spokane 4, Washington

Editor's Page

The *ANS* and *Names* were discussed again on the Columbia Network in April and July from stations west of the Rockies. These broadcasts naturally have a high publicity value and it would be very desirable if we could also establish this means of communication with the public in the East and Middle West.

The reaction of such a radio program is threefold: first we get new members; second, we get a lot of fan mail not only because of the interesting subject but because of the excellent delivery of the "University Explorer" Hale Sparks; third, we always get some onomatological information from enthusiastic name researchers. While we are, of course, most pleased when radio broadcasts bring in new members we also appreciate receiving fan mail, as this shows that interest in name study is widespread. The onomatological information we receive is, unfortunately, often not very productive. Too many of our correspondents are dictionary etymologists who roam through foreign language dictionaries and never fail to find a word that is at least similar to the name they are investigating. To quote a few examples: Europe means 'evening valley,' Italy, 'antiquity,' Greece, 'slum,' Egypt, 'rustic'; the Azores are a corruption of Assyria, Arizona one of 'arid zone,' and so forth.

It is also interesting to observe from the letters received in answer to program broadcasts a certain chauvinism or hyper-patriotism on the part of some listeners. There are many nationalistic minorities, some already extinct and absorbed by more powerful neighbors and often only recognized by the names they have left. To study the extent of disappeared cultures on the basis of place and family names is one of the most important and most interesting phases of onomastics. Unfortunately, our friends (with whom we naturally sympathize) often go beyond the bounds of sound scholarship and in their patriotic fervor claim that mountains and rivers and countries derive the names from roots in their language, when as a matter of fact there is no relationship, except accidental similarity in sound or spelling.

On the other hand, there are Anglo-Americans who refuse to believe that other nations besides England might have something to do with the culture and development of our continent and especially of America in the narrowed sense—the United States. They can not accept the fact that America was named after an Italian, and that the root of his name was Germanic. Or they believe that the name California originated in England because in the 1880's an inn in Devonshire was called "California."

It is one of the functions of the *ANS* to educate as well as to encourage the public in the field of name research. Our organization does not aim to be purely academic or antiquarian. Even now, still in its infancy, the membership of the *ANS* represents a cross section of Americans in various walks of life, united in a common interest in one particular phase of humanistic research. To be sure, there is a preponderance of college teachers in the Society because most academic subjects are in one way or the other connected with the use and application of names. *Names,* I believe, has shown that nonacademic members can make interesting and valuable contributions and yet adhere to the principles of scholarship: Objectivity, impartiality, thoroughness, absence of prejudice and pre-conceived ideas.

The article by James E. Alatis is part of the master's thesis written under the supervision of our sponsor and charter member, Francis L. Utley of Ohio State University. It received the Mary Glide Goethe Prize for 1954. Mr. Alatis has in the meantime received a Fulbright fellowship and will be a lecturer of English at the University of Athens from September 1955 to July 1956. We expect to publish other parts of Mr. Alatis' thesis, especially his interesting lists of names, in the near future.

Mr. Straubinger's article is essentially the paper which he read at the annual meeting of the *ANS* in December, 1954. Mr. Straubinger's field, or rather one of his fields, is the use of names in proverbs and popular sayings. He is professor and university marshal at the Riverside campus of the University of California.

Louisiana is one of the most productive regions for a student in anthroponymy. British, French, German, and Spanish elements have created a veritable onomatological melting pot. Mr. Johnson's article is the first contribution to this area. The author is connected with the Southwestern Louisiana Institute in Lafayette.

Hamil Kenny is the author of a standard work on the geographical names of one of our states: *The Place Names of West Virginia.*

Allen B. Kellogg, Madison Beeler, R. D. Roberts, and Charles Edgar Gilliam are already known to our readers by previous contributions.

Spanish Place Name Patterns in the Southwest

T. M. PEARCE

George R. Stewart, in his article, "A Classification of Place Names," points out that a line may be drawn between the psychological motives which stir individuals to bestow names on places and the framework of situations which provoke the actual naming.[1] Analyzing both motives and situations which contribute to the naming process, he lists nine categories into which the mechanisms of place identification naturally fall. These may be reported briefly as names which (1) describe the qualities of a place; (2) identify it with possession of a person or group; (3) associate an incident at a particular time; (4) commemorate a person, place, or event; (5) idealize a locality in terms of symbol or sentiment; (6) manufacture or coin from the sounds, letters, or fragments of other words; (7) shift or transfer a name from one landscape type to another; (8) confuse the form and meaning of one name in the form and meaning of a second; and (9) change the name entirely through a mistake in spelling, pronunciation, or some other accident. This classification, with one modification and one addition, has served well for my investigation of Spanish place name patterns in the American Southwest. I have modified the second category, identifying a place with the name of a person or group possessing it, to include identifying a place also with the names of animals or other wild life possessing it. The category I have added is (10) names which transfer terms of folk imagination, affection, and humor to localities and landmarks.

Category One, which identifies a place in terms of some impression it makes immediately upon the senses, has some of the most memorable Spanish place names to its credit. When Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was exploring New Mexico in 1540, he and his men arrived at a river which "because its water was muddy and red" they called *Rio Bermejo,* i.e., 'Red River.'[2] In 1598, the colo-

nizers of New Mexico led by Don Cristobal de Oñate, sought a stream which had been reported to them as the *Rio del Norte,* or the *Rio Bravo,* i.e., the 'River of the North' or the 'Wild, Fierce River.'[3] They found it and paid tribute to the fidelity of its name, describing it as a 'mighty river.'[4] Physical characteristics of localities in the Southwest are responsible for such Spanish place names as *Álamo,* 'poplar,' which appears in eight California land grants or claims: "At this place there was a poplar tree . . . within our camp, and for this reason the place was called *Real del Álamo* [Camp of the Poplar]" (Costanso, Sept. 27, 1769).[5] Such names as *Cienega,* 'marsh,' found in Pima County Arizona, and Santa Fe County, New Mexico, or *Brazos,* 'arms, branches of a stream,' found in both New Mexico and Texas, identify a landmark or settlement by topographical characteristics. New Mexico has two place names, *Arriba* and *Abajo,* which perpetuate the custom of towns strung for a good distance along a road naming their extremities "Above" and "Below," i.e., *Bernalillo Arriba* and *Bernalillo Abajo.* This device is familiar in English land divisions identified as Up State and Down State, but it is not customary for a highway through a community to be designated Upper State Highway or Lower State Highway. The Descriptive Category is plainly illustrated by names like *Peña Blanca,* 'white rock' (New Mexico), *Rio Colorado* 'ruddy river' (Texas), *Sobrante,* 'surplus' (California), *Polvadera,* 'dusty place' (New Mexico) and others.[6] The most famous *Colorado,* 'ruddy river,' (the *Colorado* in Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California) was not originally known by that name. *Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza,* 'big river of good hope,' was one early name for it, and *Rio de Buena Guía,* 'river of good guidance,' was another. When the Colorado territory became a part of the United States, the river was called the Grand River, being formed by a conjunction of the Green and Grand rivers in southeastern Utah. On March 24, 1921, the Colorado Legislature changed the name Grand to Colorado and on July 25, 1921, the change was approved by Congress, against the advice of the United States Board on Geographic Names. A widely reported Spanish name for the river was *Rio Tizón,* 'firebrand river,' because, as reported by Melchoir Diaz in 1540, "when they [Indians] travel about from place to place they carry, on account of the intense cold, a firebrand with which they

warm their hands and body by changing it from one hand to another."[7]

The naming of the *Rio Tizón* seems to belong to the subclass which Professor Stewart calls Associative Description, in which a place is named by something associated with it, i.e., people carrying firebrands to keep themselves warm. The quality of firebrands in the background, however, could also be the result of an incident in which a newcomer to the region first encountered a brand-carrying native. The place-name would then belong in Category three, or Incident Names, of which there are many specific illustrations in the Spanish chronicles. For instance, as Alvar Nuñes Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were entering northern Mexico in the eighth year of their travels across the Gulf Coast, they entered a village where the Indians gave them "over six hundred hearts of deer, opened, of which they kept always a great store for eating." For this reason, The Spanish voyageurs called the settlement the 'village of the hearts,' i.e., *Los Corazones.* Castañeda, reporting this event, adds that Arellano, in establishing a town in the neighborhood, named it *San Hierónimo de los Corazones,* 'Saint Jerome of the Hearts,' illustrating a Spanish custom of duplicating names, even in some cases triplicating them. Here the duplication seems to be topographically pertinent, in that the general area was being called *Corazones* and the specific settlement was distinguished as *San Hieronimo.* It is interesting, however, that although the name *Corazones* resulted from an incident, or in accord with Category Three, the name *San Hieronimo* was in accord with Category Four, that is, in commemoration of a distinguished personage. The peculiarly Spanish custom of combining topographical details in name identification is also illustrated by the complete title of the city of Los Angeles. The Portola expedition camped on the bank of a river in Southern California, August 2, 1769; they named it *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula,* thus commemorating the Virgin Mary in her special manifestation as queen of the Angels, and honoring a special feast day as well as the chapel of the Franciscan Order at Assisi. The name of Santa Fe, the capital city of New Mexico, also has this multiple commemorative character, as will be pointed out later in the article.

Further illustrations of Spanish place names in the Category of

Incident may be found in Cabeza de Vaca's account of the naming of the 'Island of Ill Fate' (*Mal Hado*) and in Oñate's report of the 'Spring of the Little Dog' (*El Ojo del Perillo*). Having built a barge, after they became separated from their ships, Cabeza de Vaca and some other members of the ill-fated Narváez expedition were cast upon an island in the Gulf of Mexico, (probably Galveston Island). There they were assisted by the Indians, but putting to sea again, their barge was overturned and all their possessions lost. The Indians who had helped them began to die from stomach ailment and the cold weather. These circumstances joined to lead De Vaca and his friends to name the spot the 'Island of Ill Fate.' The incident behind the naming of 'The Spring of the Little Dog' is of a happier nature. The colonizer of New Mexico reports that as his expedition travelled up the Rio Grande Valley in 1598, it entered the *Jornado del Muerto,* 'Journey of Death,' a waterless shortcut thirty miles east of the river. Having covered only about fourteen miles of the eighty, the party became desperate for water. Oñate writes, "On this day, because a dog came into camp with its feet coated with mud, we found waterholes." Some thirty years later, the presiding officer of the Franciscan missions in New Mexico wrote a report on his province, and he referred to one of the Apache Indian Tribes as the *Perillo Apaches,* 'little dog Apaches,' transferring the name *Perillo,* from the spring to the people living east of it.[10]

The Second or Possessive Category of place naming seems to be related to the linguistic process known as antonomasia, the transfer of a personal name or epithet to an object or activity associated with it.[11] Frederick Webb Hodge believes that one of the most famous Southwestern place names came through the transfer of an ethnic personal name to the region in which the people dwelt. The name is *Cíbola,* first used in the *Report of Fray Marcos de Niza* (1539), who understood from Indian tribes in northern Mexico that Zuñi pueblo, in New Mexico, was called *Cíbola* and therefore used the term for the region and its "seven very great cities." Dr. Hodge says that *Cíbola* was "the Spanish form of *Shiwina,* the Zuñi name for their tribal range."[12] Domingo del Castillo's map, made in Mexico in 1541, shows an area identified as "La Ciudad de Cíbola."[13] From the topographical name came the transfer to the most famous new

animal of the region, *cíbola,* Spanish for 'buffalo.' The name here, although belonging to the Possessive Category, also falls into the category of Shift or Transfer names, in that a generic name for a people or place was shifted to animals native to that place.

In the Possessive Category, also, belongs the place name *Texas,* from the Indian word *Tejas,* used by the Spanish explorers and missionaries to describe a large group of Indians west of the New Mexico missions.[14] As previously mentioned, I would extend this category to include place names associated with the habitat of particular forms of wild life, i.e., *Caballo,* 'horse,' *Mountains, Gallinas,* 'chickens, wild turkeys,' *Peaks, Coyote,* 'prairie wolf,' *Springs, Pajarito,* 'little bird,' *Mesa,* found in the *Place Name Dictionary* of New Mexico. Professor Stewart writes that most *Animal Names* (Wolf Creek, Antelope Spring) fall into the Category of Incident Names.[15] He may be right, but documentation is usually lacking for specific occasions when individuals encountered the particular wolf, antelope, horses, turkeys, coyotes, etc., for which the places are named. Rather, it may be generally assumed that the animals are abundant in such localities. It therefore seems to me that the Possessive concept governs the place name and unless a particular incident can be cited to show the discovery of wild life, the place names for animals belong under Category Two, Possession. The list is too long to develop here, but such Spanish animal names as *Burro,* 'donkey'; *Borrego* 'sheep'; *Conejo,* 'Rabbit'; *Chuckawalla,* 'lizard'; *Gaviota,* 'sea gull'; *Gato,* 'cat' *Mosquero* 'swarm of flies'; *Ratón,* 'squirrel'; *Tecolote,* 'owl'; *Truchas,* 'trout' dot the landscape from seacoast to plain.

It is the list of Commemorative names which contributes the largest number of place names in Spanish, as it does in most other languages. This is the Fourth Category among our naming mechanisms, and it includes words celebrating famous individuals in Church and State; famous cities, provinces or landmarks whose names are transferred in their honor; famous events, warlike or peaceful; and famous institutions, such as universities or other cultural monuments. Cabeza de Vaca, one of the earliest chroniclers of the terirtorial United States, lists a number of commemorative names bestowed by the Narváez expedition. He writes of "a great river to which we had given the name of the *Rio de la Magdalena*"[16]

and "the Bay, to which we gave the name of The Cross."[17] When Coronado's men reached The Indian Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico, they named it *Valladolid,* in honor of that city in Spain.[18] There are at least sixty-five place names in New Mexico derived from the Calendar of the Saints in the Roman Catholic Church: *San Agustín, San Antonio, San Diego, San Fernando, San Francisco, San Gabriel, San José, San Juan, San Pedro, Santa Ana, Santa Clara* among them. Many of these place names are also familiar in other southwestern areas. It is not always safe, however, to assume that the place naming for saints is purely commemorative. Calendar names may record the fact that someone was at a particular place on a particular day, as George R. Stewart points out. In this case piety combines with the attempt to date the occasion. Such a mixture of motives is found in the naming of the state of Florida. Ponce de León first saw the coast of North America on the Spanish religious feast called *Pascua Florida,* 'flowery Pasch,' or Easter. He landed six days later on April 2, 1513, and noting that the land was green and blossoming, named it *Florida.*[19]

A psychological twist to the naming process may be evident in some of the Spanish commemorative procedures. The first capital of New Mexico was an Indian pueblo where Oñate arrived in 1598 and was courteously received by the natives, who shared their accommodations with the Spaniards. "We gave it the name of *'San Juan'* writes Villagrá, chronicler of the expedition, "adding *'de los Caballeros* in memory of those noble sons who first raised in these barbarous regions the bloody tree upon which Christ perished for the redemption of mankind."[20] *San Juan de los Caballeros* thus commemorated their predecessors, and to an extent themselves, for they, too, were pioneering in settlement and missionary work. This enlightened self-praise is carried out by the numerous place names in New Mexico for families. A name like *Los Lunas,* New Mexico, is really 'The Luna Folks,' as are such other names as *Los Abeytas, Los Garcias, Los Montoyas, Los Pinos* and others. Without the "Los" identifying all the members of the family group, the names ring just like English family names attached to a particular home-site or community. *Casa Salazar,* 'The House of Salazar,' the name of a settlement in Sandoval county, New Mexico, has the same informal dignity as *Los Salazares,* 'The Salazar Folks.'

Two commemorative names of larger communities in the state are *Albuquerque,* named as a triple commemorative in 1706, and *Santa Fe,* a quintuple commemorative in 1610. Albuquerque was the third royal villa to be established in the province, and it was named by a provincial governor Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdez, in honor of the thirty-fourth Viceroy of Mexico, Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez, Eighth Duke of Alburquerque. The full title of the new villa was *San Francisco de Alburquerque,* commemorating the family of the Viceroy in his title; the seraphic personage of San Francisco; and indirectly the governor, whose baptismal name was Francisco, like the Viceroy's. All would have been well had not the council in Mexico discovered that a royal decree had authorized a villa honoring the King, Philip V. A way out was found by changing the name of the new villa to *San Felipe de Alburquerque,* thus honoring both the King, his patron saint, and the Viceroy. Since the baptismal name of the governor was dropped, he alone lost out in this process of commemoration.[21]

Santa Fe, New Mexico, was named by governor Peralta in 1610, with the title *La Villa Real de Santa Fe,* "The Royal Town of Santa Fe." The name commemorated not only the Catholic Faith, but the city near Granada founded by Ferdinand and Isabella to celebrate their victory over the Moors in 1492. After a patronal church was built in 1714, and dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, the name of the city was informally lengthened to *La Villa Real de Santa Fe de San Francisco de Assisi,* thus commemorating the Crown, the Church, a Spanish City, St. Francis, and his birthplace in Italy, which was also the headquarters of the first missionary order to enter the province.[22]

The category which I have added to Professor Stewart's list, calling it Category 10, Folk Imagination, Affection, and Humor, is illustrated by a place name in New Mexico which means just 'bogey man,' i.e., *Aguelo.* Folk tales and folk dances bring in this old man (whose name is a dialectical prevarication of Spanish *abuelo,* 'grandfather') to scare children and put the fear of supernatural punishment in their hearts. *Gigantes,* 'giants,' is a name of like origin. It describes a large, black mesa, around which centered both Indian and Spanish tales of the supernatural. Place names like *Chico,* 'little,' *Antonchico* 'little Tony,' *Chaperito,* 'little hat,'

Tienditas 'little stores,' seem to strike a vein of humorous affection not provided for in the standard classifications. Perhaps they are only psychological adaptations of Category Four, Commemoration, or Category Three, Incident, but they seem to me to deserve attention as a separate group.

Of the remaining classifications, place names which are Euphemisms, Manufactured, Folk Etymologies, or Mistakes, only a few instances can be found. For Euphemisms, the numerous instances of *Buena Vista,* 'beautiful view,' throughout the region will supply some evidence, for at times the name leaves more to expectation than to fact. *California,* as a name, seems to have been created by the fertile imaginations of sixteenth century fiction writers, one of whom about the year 1500 described a land inhabited by black Amazons, whose queen was named Calafía.[23] Along with *El Dorado* 'Golden Man,' the *Seven Cities of Cíbola* and *Quivira,* the name *California* satisfied the demand of men for names which excited the imagination, as well as defined the specific.

There are illustrations of transliterated names from Indian tongues to Spanish, such as the name for *Chaco Canyon,* New Mexico. The Navaho name is *tse ya chahatquel,* for 'wash, river,' but the regional Spanish word *chaco* means 'desert, isolated place.' Did the sound of the Navaho word suggest a Spanish approximation, with quite a different meaning? Such may have been the case with the *Nacimento Mountains,* which in Spanish means 'Christ's Nativity,' but the Navaho name given a creek in the region was *nazisetgo,* 'gopher water.'[24]

The most famous of all place name transformation was that of the *Rio de las Animas* in southern Colorado. According to legend, a large force of Spanish soldiers was massacred by Indians here and the place was called *Rio de las Perdidas en Purgatorio,* 'River of Lost Souls in Purgatory.' In the early nineteenth century, when French trappers worked for furs in its waters, they shortened and translated the name simply to *Purgatoire,* 'Purgatory.' Later on the Missourians, Texans, and other Anglo-Americans, unfamiliar with the French tongue reduced the name to "Picketwire."[25] This seems to confuse all the categories, but since it was chiefly a linguistic demonstration of American place name imagination, rather than of Spanish, perhaps it is just as well left unanalyzed.

NOTES

[1] *Names,* II (March, 1954), 1–13.

[2] *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition,* G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque, 1940), p. 208.

[3] Gaspar Perez de Villagrá, *History of New Mexico,* 1610, tr. by Gilberto Espinosa (Los Angeles, 1933), p. 108. Shown as *Rio Bravo* on *General Map of North America* (1796), Collot, Paris, 1826.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] *California Place Names,* by Erwin G. Gudde (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p. 6.

[6] *Agua Caliente,* 'warm water,' *Creek, Arena* 'sand bar,' *Point, Arroyo Grande,* 'big gulch,' *Piedra Blanca,* 'white stone,' *Creek,* etc., from the *A's* and *B's* in *California Place Names.*

[7] *Arizona Place Names,* by Will C. Barnes (Tucson, 1935), p. 104. See also the account in Gudde, *California Place Names,* p. 75, with reference to a map by Fr. Kino, showing it as *Rio Colorado del Norte;* appears as "Great River of the Apostles" on the *General Map of North America* (1796), Collot, Paris, 1826.

[8] *The Coronado Narratives,* p. 211. Melchoir Diaz, 1540, was a source for Castañeda, the author of Coronado's history.

[9] *The Journey of Alvar Nuñes Cabeza de Vaca, 1528–36,* by Fanny Bandelier (New York, 1922), p. 160.

[10] *The Benavides 'Memorial' of 1634,* tr. and ed. by F. W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque, 1945), p. 307. Benavides' transfer of the name seems to make use of Catagory Seven or Shift Naming.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 84.

[12] Antonomasia (L.; Gr. *Antonomazein,* to call by another name: *anti,* instead of, plus *anomazein,* to name) "Pasteurize" from Louis Pasteur; "Your Honour" for a Judge; "bowie knife" from its inventor Colonel James Bowie; "palace" from The Palatine Hill in Rome; "Wales" from Anglo-Saxon *wealh,* "foreign"; "worsted" from Worstead (Norfolk) woolens.

[13] *New Mexico History and Civics* by Bloom and Donnelly (Albuquerque) 1933, p. 18. Cleve Hallenbeck, in *Land of the Conquistadores* (1950), p. 21, says that *cibola* is an Aztec word meaning 'buffalo.'

[14] Benavides, pp. 317–18.

[15] "A Classification of Place Names," *Names,* II. (March, 1954), 4.

[16] *Journey of Alvar Nuñes Cabeza de Vacea;* p. 33.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 39.

[18] *Narratives of The Coronado Expedition,* p. 244.

[19] Reported after the chronicler Herrera, by George R. Stewart in *Names on the Land* (New York, 1945), pp. 11–12.

[20] Villagrá, p. 147.

[21] T. M. Pearce, "Two Dukes of Alburquerque," *El Palacio,* 61 (June, 1954), 180–81.

[22] Fray Angélico Chavez, "New Mexico Religious Place Names other than Saints," *El Palacio,* 57 (January, 1950), 25–26. The practice of commemorative dates in naming streets, common throughout the Republic of Mexico, i.e., *Avenido Cinco de Mayo* (5th of May) or *Dieciseis de Septiembre* (Seventeenth of September) did not develop in the Southwest. Most of these dates commemorate events in the struggle for Mexican independence and the effects of that experience had scarcely taken root in the northmost areas of Mexico before they became attached to the United States.

[23] *California Place Names,* pp. 50–51; also "The Name California," by Erwin G. Gudde in *Names,* II (June, 1945), 121–133.

[24] "Third Collection," *New Mexico Place Name Dictionary"* (Mimeograph), University of New Mexico, May 12, 1950. Cf., also, *"Chicarica, Chico Rico, Sugarite:* A Puzzle in Place Naming," *Western Folklore,* XIV (April, 1955), 124–125.

[25] T. M. Pearce, "New Mexico Folk Etymologies," *El Palacio* (October, 1943), 229–231. Rufus B. Sage, in *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* (1847), p. 249, writes that the French also spoke of the stream as *Picquer l'eau* of Water of Suffering, which gives another phonetic background for Picketwire.

The Names of Thomas Dekker's Devils

KELSIE B. HARDER

A STRIKING FEATURE of Thomas Dekker's *Newes from Hell*[1] is the use of synonyms for the name of the devil. Hidden under this satanic or devilish polyonymy is criticism and satire of the society Dekker inhabited. Also, the author's ideas concerning religion, social customs, and values can be unearthed. The method to be followed here is to investigate the connotative value which the names or name-metaphors carried in the literature of the period. The suave and witty style in which the book is written merely serves as an ironic background for the realism that appears after unmasking the devils.

Throughout the work the emphasis is on the satirical connotation of the synonyms, and this stress is carried to extremes in order to make hell a metaphor for England. As Dekker puts it,

> this is certaine, that [the kingdom of hell] tis exceeding rich, for all Vsurers both Iewes and Christians, after they haue made away their Soules for money here, meete with them there againe: You haue of all Trades, of all Professions, of all States some there: you haue Popes there, aswel as here, Lords there, as well as here, Aldermen there, as well as here. Soldiers march there by millions soe doe Cittizens, so doe Farmers; very few Poets can be suffred to liue there.[2]

Dekker establishes his metaphor and then reinforces it through names for the devil—and his name is legion.

Dekker uses some twenty-seven names for *devil,* applying them to the various manifestations of that dark prince's multi-faceted personality to illustrate the aspects of contemporary religious, political, and social life. These names fall into three classes: (1) Comic titles of respect: *Don Belzebub, Don Lucifer, Don Pluto, Cavaliero Cornuto, Monsieur Malediction, Monsieur Malefico, Lord of Tartary, Prince of the Devils, Grand Sophy of the Whore of Babylon, his Devilship, his Infernallship,* and *the great Tobaconist, the prince of Smoake and darknes.* (2) Titles of minor office:

Paymaster of Perdition, Headwarder of the Horners, Captaine of the damned Crew, Colonel of Coniurers, Lieftenant of Limbo, Workemaster of Witches, Serieant Sathan, and *M. Gunner of Gehenna.* (3) Names of satirical or sarcastic connotation: *Mammon being God of no beggars, Coyner of Light Angels, that great Dego of Devils, the cloven-footed Synagogue (the devil's court), Behemoth, Leviathan,* and *Cacodaemon.* There is even a *Malvolio,* the devil's secretary.

Although the above classification indicates that Dekker was consciously aware of certain prototypes of the devil in the contemporary world scene, and also shows that he was using the synonyms in a plausible governmental hierarchy, the listing is deceptive, for under the names smoulders the religious, political, and social satire. The connotations interact to such an extent that sometimes one name spreads over all three fields; for example, *Coyner of Light Angels,* with its panoply of wordplay, satirizes all three. Therefore, along with the superficial classification of names, which of course parallel general phases of English and even European life, a further classification must be made in order to illustrate how Dekker built his metaphor on different, more specific levels, and especially on the dangerous, for the author at least, level of contemporary satire. The interplay of the satire among the religious, political, and social scene makes the classification rather difficult as far as listing is concerned; actually, each name must be considered separately in order to point out the various implications that are not always apparent without tracing the history of the term.

In analyzing the names I shall begin with satire on the contemporary foreign political and religious policies. The titles in which *Don* appears suggest Spain and Italy, hated by Englishmen for their Roman Catholicism. The Mediterranean countries, however, appealed to the English imagination; romance, intrigue, and exoticism attracted the average Elizabethan and Jacobean, but his protestant turn of mind often repulsed such vanities. In compensation, Englishmen relegated the whole matter to the Christian hell. Two French titles, *Monsieur Malefico* and *Monsieur Malediction,* personify abstractions of vices. *Malefico* denotes 'witch,' while *Monsieur Malediction* appears to be a parody on "benediction," a derivation from "benedict." *Benedict* meant 'the blessed one';

Benedictine was the name of a Roman Catholic monastic order in France, as well as in England. The new blend, *malediction,* would, therefore, mean 'the cursed one,' and suggests that Dekker was thinking of a "cursed French Catholic." *Prince of the Devils,* although a conventional appellative, carried further weight as a Machiavellian allusion. *Cavaliero,* formerly meaning 'a courtly gentleman,' that is, 'a cavalier,' about 1600 came to denote, with the suffix of the South added, 'a fawning, swaggering fellow.' *Cornuto,* meaning 'horned,' is the Italian for 'cuckold.' Shakespeare uses both terms in *The Merry Wives of Windsor,*[3] among other allusions to Philip II of Spain, whom many Englishmen hated almost as an article of religion.

Dego of Devils, when its etymology and connotation are revealed, constitutes what is perhaps Dekker's most dangerous allusion. In 1604 James I made peace with Spain, a very unpopular move to many people of England, and one which proved unprofitable to the merchants as well. Dekker, reflecting public opinion, apparently disapproved, and trod on libellous and treasonable grounds when he wrote: "The very bowels of these Infernal Antipodes, shall bee ript vp, and pulled out, before the great Dego of Diuels his own face: Nay since my flag of defiance is hung forth, I will yeelde to no truce."[4] This is a direct reference to the treaty drawn up by James I. But who is the Dego? Presumably the King of Spain. The matter goes further however. *Dego of Devils* is not listed earlier than 1607 by the *OED.* In Webster, *History of Thomas Wyat, Wks.,* 1830, II, 298 (written 1607), occurs this quotation: "A Dondego is a kind of Spanish stockfish, or poor John." But *Dego* or *Diego* in Spanish would be translated into English as *James.* James I, in Dekker's opinion, then, had just become a Spanish stockfish for his promulgation of the treaty.

Dekker shows his protestant bias in a pattern of religious and political allusions which satirize the Roman Catholic Church. The allusions weave a politico-religious network which reaches out, in name etymology, towards the Latin nations in satire and parody. The immediate target of the satire lies, nevertheless, at closer range. The names are a commentary on the foreign policies of James I whose court was attempting a tight-rope political balance in order

to satisfy the political ambitions of several religious groups. Dekker, it seems, feared the Papists more than he did the others.

Having alluded to James I, Dekker went on to the Pope, whom he called *The Grand Sophy of the Whore of Babylon,* an epithet perhaps not quite as treasonable as the one applied to King James. *Grand Sophy* was the title of the Persian rulers in the dynasty from 1500 to 1736, and Dekker is credited with generalizing the word *sophy* to designate 'a great ruler or person.' Since 1545, *the Whore of Babylon* has been applied as an epithet to the Roman Catholic Church by its enemies.[5] There is also a pun on the word *sophy*. The Pope held his power by employing sophistry, according to Dekker, and, therefore, should carry the title of *Grand Sophy of the Whore of Babylon*. The name would take on an additional connotation of 'spurious reasoning' and 'semblance of deceit.'

One term, *Workemaster of Witches,* does not appear to have any political connotation, but it does apply to the Pope as a 'creator of witches.' *Witches,* in the sense as used here, would probably apply to the Jesuits as lesser devils, since the Jesuits were infamous to Dekker for their exercise of subtle reasoning. *Workemaster* was commonly applied to the Creator or God, and is so used in the Coverdale Bible of 1535 (Wisd. vii, 22); however, in the sense of 'creator' the term appears in Job xiii, 4, as "ye are workmasters of lyes."

Turning his sights on the domestic scene, Dekker uses merchants and money hoarders who prevent the circulation of money in London, a situation which did little to fill the purses of authors. *Paymaster of Perdition,* considered in relation to Thomas Nashe's pecuniary pleading in *Pierce Pennilesse,* alludes to the request that the devil pay out the great wealth hoarded in the coffers of hell; but *paymaster* connected with *perdition* makes the devil a paymaster of damnation. The devil, or "creditor," does not pay gold to those in need, but he can and does pay damnation, or "imprisonment." Included here is one of Dekker's first epithets: "he [the devil] is a damn'd lying Cretan, because he's found in Two Tales between one matter."[6] *Cretan* is ultimately derived from Greek *kretismos,* which means 'Cretan behavior,' or 'lying.'[7] Dekker is accusing the devil of lying because he has not released the gold as had been

promised. *Mammon being god of no beggars* to designate the devil is self-explanatory. The rich did not care for the conditions of the poor, and the devil, pursuant to Nashe's *Supplication,* still did not release the gold which he, or the moneylenders of London as a whole, had hoarded. *Coyner of Light Angels* is a pun on the English gold coin, called more fully at first the *Angel-Noble,* being originally a new issue of Noble, and having for its device the Archangel Michael standing upon and piercing a dragon. The use of the word *light* appears to carry a twofold wordplay: 'light'—'levity,' and 'light'—'burning.' There is also the possibility of a play on the worthlessness of the coins, at least in so far as utility for the poor is concerned. *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* are figurative terms designating men of vast and formidable power or enormous wealth. Dekker's use of *Leviathan* in this sense is the first recorded usage. Rancor against the Jews explains the designation of the devil's court as the *cloven-footed Synogogue.*

The cluster of names alluding to the hoarding of wealth, and to creditors who persecute the poor men who borrow money without means to repay, indicates Dekker's no doubt authentic concern with money at the time of the composition of his book. The next devil, *Serieant Sathan,* represents the bridge between the hoarding devils and the devils who operate the prisons. He is the devil who was too much in evidence when the Leviathans and the Behemoths requested their money from the debtors. The application of *sergeant* to *satan* has an interesting history; also the two terms are not found connected in quotations given in the *OED,* although they twice occur within the same passages:

> 1513. Bradshaw. *St. Werburge* I. 1024. "The minister of mischef & sereaunt of sathans."
> 1570. Satir. *Poems Reform.* xix. 78. "That apostat, that Feyndis awin Seriand."

First, as is well known, *sergeant* denoted 'servant,' and still retains some of the quality of that meaning. The title has also been applied to lawyers. Other shades of meaning, however, had crept into the word by 1606: "An officer whose duty is to enforce the judgments of a tribunal or the commands of a person in authority, one who is charged with the arrest of offenders or the summoning of persons to appear before the court." This, of course, was the common mean-

ing of the term during Elizabethan times.[8] Two figurative passages throw further light on Dekker's application:

> 1600. Tourneur *Transf. Metam.* xli. "One day? Nay sure a twelve months' time t'will be Ere seriant death will call me at my door."
> 1602. Sh. *Hamlet* V. ii. 347. "Had I but time (as this fell Sergeant death Is strick'd in his arrest) Oh I could tell you."

Dekker's designation of the devil as "seriant Sathan" extends the trend of the metaphor from a court summoner to one who is feared, to death personified, to the evil one himself.

From the devil who summons debtors and offenders to the master devils who control the legions of the poor is but a simple step. In the latter group may be found such synonyms as *Colonel of Coniurers, Captaine of the Damned Crew, Lieftenant of Limbo,* and *M. Gunner of Gehenna.* In this pattern all the titles are alliterative, raising a question as to why Dekker chose military terms for the devil. Apparently, he noticed that military titles corresponded in alliteration with the names already applied to hell, that is, *Damned Crew, Limbo,* and *Gehenna.* Conjurers were persons with supernatural powers who could call up spirits, evil or good, and the terminology is often found in Elizabethan plays, the most famous to us being the forceful Dr. Faustus and Prospero. *Colonel,* relatively a new term, appeared in England about 1580 in translations of Italian military treatises; Dekker, in need of an alliterative parallel for his *conjurers,* found one at hand, conveniently supplied by the hateful Italians, which made it even more attractive as a title for one who should lead the columns in hell—a name, moreover, that seemed to correspond with the power of the conjurer, as well as with stylistic demands. Having set the alliterative pattern with military titles, Dekker followed it. *Captaine of the damned Crew* refers to the often brutal leader of the crews of beggers, all too familar to Dekker, who abounded in the streets of London. *Lieftenant of Limbo* may have been a common contemporary pun on the Leftenant of the Tower, or it may have been Dekker's own coinage—there is no evidence of the phrase elsewhere. Limbo, traditionally an environ of hell, has been used figuratively as a prison, and the keeper of the Tower normally appears as a Leftenant. Obviously, Dekker was concerned with some contemporary restriction, whether with imprisonment or threat of imprison-

ment, for this hierarchy is relevant to military or law enforcement.

The appellative *M. Gunner of Gehenna* requires separate treatment, since it does not fit neatly into the above pattern, and, furthermore, it seems to have been a product of a more jovial mood. The name may have been influenced by a passage in one of Shakespeare's plays, but it is more probably a conscious creation by Dekker, for the choice of both parts of the phrase is certainly unique. *Gehenna* is a christianized symbol for hell as Christ used the term in Mark ix. *M. Gunner,* or *Master Gunner,* is the chief gunner in charge of ordnance, or figuratively the one who discharges fire and brimstone in hell, and, therefore, in this respect the term is related to the cluster with military titles. Shakespeare, *Henry V,* III, Prol. 32, turns the gunner into a servant of the "devilish cannon": "The nimble gunner with the lynstock now the devilish cannon touches." Dekker, forging all the meanings into a vague and almost unanalyzable structure, adds to the already overloaded epithet another meaning, 'the author of salvos or broadsides.' The passage from the text reads: "What newes, what newes, what squibs, or rather what peeces of ordinance doth the M. Gunner of Gehenna discharge against so swacie a suitor [Nashe]."[9] There is more wordplay on the phrase "swacie a suitor," for Cupid was also known as a "gunner" and a "suitor." Dekker may have been merely adding a touch of persiflage at the round of Elizabethan and Jacobean court sonneteers.

Other names, *his devilship, his Infernallship, Cacodaemon,* and *Headwarder of Horners,* do not have enough in common to form a pattern. *His devilship* and *his Infernallship* appear to be nothing more than sarcastic appellatives directed against the English proclivity for saying "his Lordship." The Lords, however, controlled patronage for authors, and to Dekker, often in need of a patron, they were in reality devils. *Cacodaemon,* promising to yield much, means 'evil spirit,' and seems to be only another synonym for the devil. *Headwarder of the Horners* is perhaps the simplest one of all. The devil supposedly has horns; cuckolds have horns; therefore, why not place the devil as the headwarder of all cuckolds and makers of cuckolds?

A final term rounds out the metaphor of hell. Being bombarded with morality plays, Puritan propaganda, and brimstone sermons,

the Englishmen of Dekker's day could hardly avoid seeing immediately an analogy between their concept of the smoky denizens of the devil and the smokers of tobacco. Dekker had in mind London and its smoky, gloomy fog when he drew an analogy with the dungeons of hell, for to him London was a part of hell. The first designation of the devil as a tobacco addict occurs in a passage on the first page of Dekker's book: "I have hamerd out this Engine, that has beaten open the Infernall Gates, and discoured that great Tobaconist the Prince of Smoake and darknes, Don Pluto."[10] The devil, then, resides in London. Two quotations concerning the use of the term *tobacco* taken from Dekker's works are,

> 1609. *Gull's Horn-bk.* ii. II. "The thick tobacco-breath which the rheumatic night throws abroad."
> 1612. *If it be not good Wks.* 1873. III. 293. "I think the Divell is sucking Tobaccho, heeres such a mist."

The London fog was indeed stifling even in 1606. The implication of the tobacco name-metaphor forces the location of hell, according to Dekker, to England.

Newes from Hell, then, on Dekker's personal plane may be news from prison or simply London—a prison or a city filled with many devils, witches, conjurers, and poor persecuted men, all in the power and at the mercy of rulers, or master devils, each named by the author. Dekker, although not the artist that Dante was, attempted something similar to that which Dante has been accused of. To things that he did not like he gave names of the devil. All the author's contemporary society is here under various synonyms: The Pope as the Grand Sophy, James I as the Dego of the Devils, priests under the names of Don and Monsieur, military devils, menial devils, great rich devils, even the vile fog of London. The devil had many faces and as many names, each name representing a characteristic trait or aspect. The satire is efficiently camouflaged by the synonyms, for Dekker's readers no doubt thought pictorially, and the devil with his cloven hoofs, his forked tail, and his sharp horns, along with hell and its eternal fire and brimstone, was real enough to enter directly into the affairs of the sometimes witch-ridden Jacobeans. It is certain that few would have looked beyond the pictures to the ultimate implications and invisible properties ensuing from the names. After all, the devil was extremely hot and subtle, but hardly as subtle as Dekker proved himself here.

NOTES

[1] *Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* ed. by Alexander B. Grossart (London, 1885), II. Hereinafter this edition will be referred to as *Works. Newes from Hell* was written in 1606, some fourteen years after Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse, His Supplication to the Devil,* to which Dekker's work is a sequel. *Newes* is a book that does not readily yield its meaning to a casual reading, for Dekker is often oblique and allusive in his references and style, a healthy tone for a broadside writer to use, especially if he were anathematized already as Dekker, who was in and out of Debtor's prison, had been.

[2] *Works,* p. 99.

[3] III. v. 71: "The peaking Cornuto, her husband." II. iii. 77: "Cauliero Slender." As a title or term of Address, *Cavaliero* appears in a work by Nashe, "The Return of the Renowned Cauliero Pasquill" (1589).

[4] *Works,* p. 100.

[5] Brinklow *Compl.* X. iii (1874), 20: "That abhoymnable whore of Babylon (Rome I meane)."

[6] *Works,* p. 90.

[7] The first quotation in the *OED* is taken from Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614). Also see *Titus Andronicus,* I. 12.

[8] The first quotation is taken from Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors,* ii. 56: "Oh yes, if any houre meet a Seriant, a turnes backe for verie fear." The second appeared in 1606 and may or may not have been read by Dekker: Bishop, *Heaven upon Earth:* "When . . . thy conscience, like a stern Sergeant, shall catch thee by the throat and arrest thee on God's debt."

[9] *Works,* p. 131.

[10] *Works,* p. 89.

Mountains and Rivers still murmur the voices of the nations long denationalized or extirpated.—Plagrave.

On a rural mail box near Twin Falls, Idaho, there is lettered about the shortest name on record, simply "P. Oe."—R. E. Woods.

Norwegian Place Names

GEORGE T. FLOM

All place names are definite, designating, as they do, a particular thing: a city, a village, a farm or other inhabited place; a field, bridge, a mill, a row of poplars or some other cultural development; a valley, a mountain, a river, a bay, or any other natural feature, for which it has been found useful or necessary to have a name, as when a common noun, an adjective, a verb or a word-group is employed as a noun.

But while a noun, in changing from indefinite to definite application, will assume definite grammatical form, this does not necessarily follow in the case of the change to a name; modern English employs the definite sometimes and sometimes not. We say: The Grand Canyon, The Mojave Desert, The Florida Keys and The Blue Ridge Parkway, but we also say Crater Lake, Soldiers Grove, Green Bay, Yellowstone Falls. In English the definite form is correct with river names, and usually so with names of mountains and valleys; but it is rarely found with names of lakes, waterfalls, bays, sounds and islands. The Scandinavian languages differ from English usage in several of these kinds of names; but the indefinite is extensively evidenced in place names here also.

As is well known, the Scandinavian languages have that unusual feature of both a proclitic and an enclitic article. The latter is used with a noun, and is suffixed to it; it must always be used with a noun to make the noun definite, hence it has come to be called the substantival article. The former can be used only before an adjective followed by a noun, and before a substantivized adjective; hence it has come to be called the adjectival definite article. Both of these articles were well established in the Old Scandinavian languages. But the use of the enclitic has been greatly extended in the modern period, especially in Norwegian and Swedish, where it is

used also with a noun that is preceded by the proclitic article. Thus we have a redundancy here, in that the idea of definiteness is expressed not only in the noun but also in the adjective.

In the Aurland place names, of which I made a special study, the proclitic article occurs in the name Dann Grunnlause (grunn, 'bottom' + laus, 'lacking'), 'The Bottomless,' 'The Bottomless Pit.' It is the name of a deep narrow hole between two rocks; the bottom of the hole can't be seen; the dialectal avoidance of the adjectival article has here then led to the almost complete disappearance of this article. The pattern: article + adjective + noun + article assumes the form: adjective + noun + article. There are hundreds of names of this type, for naturally an adjective is a qualifier that occurs very often in place-names, especially field names and nature names. A few examples are: *Langajaiti* (*jait,* feminine, 'goat'), a long hill above the road near Guddvangu; *Langaroau,* (*roa, rova,* feminine, 'tail'), name of a field; *Nyestkkjen* (*ny,* adjective, 'new'—*stkk,* masculine, 'rock-slide'); *Brattemoten,* a steep uphill in the road (*mot,* n., but here a masculine, 'a place where one meets, comes to, something'); *i mote Bakken,* or *mote Bakken,* 'up a hill,' whence the noun *Motebakke.* The name *Brattemot'n,* therefore represents the two first parts of the tri-part name: *Brattemotebakken* finally *Ljtaholedn* (*ljt,* 'ugly'—*hola,* feminine, 'hollow,' also often 'hole'); it is the name of a place where there are several giant kettles.

Further changes may take place in the name-type: adjective—noun—article, resulting in a name in which the weak vowel ending of the adjective, or the enclitic article, drops out. Some examples of such reduced forms are: *Braidal'n* (*brai,* adjective, ON *breidtr,* 'broad'); *Flateddlau* (*flat,* 'flat'—*hedla,* ON *hella*) a flat stone, slab'; *Nybrunau* (*bru,* feminine, 'bridge'); Graunesedn (*nos,* feminine, plural *nese,* nose, mountain top'); *Svartammradn* (*svart,* 'black'—*hammar,* ON *hamarr*); *Blauskavv'l'n* (*blau,* 'blue'—*skavv'l,* 'snowdrift' ON *skafl*); or: *Kvitaberg* (*kvit,* 'white'), *Kvitesand* (*sand,* masculine, 'sand'); *Storabrae* (*stor,* 'big'—*brae,* feminine, 'snowfield, field of eternal snow). Cf. ON *bredafonn,* 'big snowbank'), and *Vettlelund* (*vettle,* 'small' ON *vesall,* 'poor, wretched'—*lund,* 'grove'). Various influences operate to shorten names in this way: phonological changes, considerations of euphony, the influence of tri-part upon two-part names, etc.

For the enclitic article in Norwegian habitation names before the modern period, I have examined the text of the *Egile saga Skallagrimessonar* (ed. Finnur Jonsson, 1924), in which a considerable number of Norwegian names of places are mentioned. The scenes of the first half of this saga are laid chiefly in Norway, and with the activities of Skallagrim, Egil and other members of the family in Norway and elsewhere and in the setting in Iceland. The names from the Egila-saga will be the names of only one document, but there is no reason to doubt that the usage as here seen would not be typical of Norwegian usage at the time.

In the Egila saga the definite form is limited to simple names. The occurrences are as follows. The name Foldin (*fold,* feminine, 'land, earth') for the region around the Oslofjord, appears once in the accusative singular form *Foldina* in Chapter XIX, 10; the name *Vik,* the Oslo Bay region (to-day called Viken), shows this monosyllabic form eleven times, first in Chapter III, 1, the dative singular, *Vikinni,* six times, as in Chapter XIX, 2, and the accusative singular *Vikina,* twice as in Chapter XLIX, 12. These complete the number of Norwegian place names in the definite form occurring in the saga. Other instances of simple names in the singular are always in the indefinite form as, e.g., *Aldi* (*aldi* masculine, 'isle, naze'), now called *Alden,* an island of Askvoll in Sunnfjord; the districts *Firdir,* nominative plural and *Fjordum* in the dative plural, present name *Fjorane* (*fjordarnir*) and *Dalir,* today generally called Gudbrandsdalen, sometimes Gudbrandsdal. Compound names are always in the indefinite form, *Haugasund,* the present Haugesund and *Alrekstadir,* now Aarestad (near Bergen).

Not very different are the writings in the early Middle Norwegian *Bjorgynjar Kalfskinn* (ed. P. A. Mumch, 1843). There are occasional simple names in the definite form. The occurrences are: on page 11: *Fletinum* (in Indviken); p. 12: *Skorenne,* dative singular (in Stryn); p. 39: *Skaghanum* in Lyster, registered under Lyster near 88 (see NG. P. 25); p. 42: *Yrenne* dative singular (in Laerdal); p. 43: *Kuiginum* dative singular p. 43, and *Kuighnum,* p. 44, Laerdal. This contract form could be from the dative singular or from the dative plural: *Kuigunum.* As the present pronunciation is *kviggnadn,* dative *kviggno* (NG, p. 69), the original nominative form of the name must have been *kvignar;* however, the name re-

mains unexplained; p. 43: *Yrinni,* dative singular (in Laerdal): P. 48: *Hvaalenom* (in Leikanger); p. 56: *hualvaghenom* dative singular, (in Sunnfjord; it is a lost name); p. 76; *Wangrinn a Worss,* and p. 4, *Vangrinn,* the same.

It is clear that the use of the definite form in habitation names began in a limited way in the Old Norwegian period in those names which stand nearest to common nouns, i.e., the simple names. Of compound names I have found only *Krangoyinni,* dative definite singular, (laerdal) part 1 here is *krang,* adjective, 'poor, wretched.' In the beginning of the Middle Norwegian period the new practice was still only infrequently in evidence.

It is not until the sixteenth century that the use of the definite article in habitation names becomes somewhat more common. And in the seventeenth century this form assumes importance about as in the later practice. It is now seen in the names of new small farms, sub-farms and cotters' places that spring up during this century, made in new clearings, in woodland parts and in hitherto uncultivated mountain areas, even on the high plateau.

Poet disliked Western place names.—We cannot but pause to lament the stupid, commonplace and often ribald names entailed upon the rivers and other features of the great West, by traders and settlers. As the aboriginal tribes of these magnificent regions are yet in existence, the Indian names might easily be recovered: which, beside being in general more sonorous and musical, would remain mementoes of the primitive lords of the soil, of whom in a little while scarce any traces will be left. Indeed, it is to be wished that the whole of our country could be rescued, as much as possible, from the wretched nomenclature inflicted upon it, by ignorant and vulgar minds; and this might be done, in a great degree, by restoring the Indian names, wherever significant and euphonious. As there appears to be a spirit of research abroad in respect to our aboriginal antiquities, we would suggest, as a worthy object of enterprise, a map, or maps, of every part of our country, giving the Indian names whenever they could be ascertained. Whoever achieves such an object worthily, will have a monument to his own reputation.—Washington Irving, *Astoria* (1836).

Edwin Arlington Robinson's Proper Names

WILLIAM C. CHILDERS

The names that Edwin Arlington Robinson bestows upon the inhabitants of his Tilbury Town are as unforgettable as the characters themselves. Reuben Bright, the big burly butcher who cried like a baby and tore down his slaughter house when his wife died; Miniver Chevvy, the old lush who longed for what was not; Cliff Klingenhagen, the happiest man in town who insisted on drinking wormwood when his friends drank wine; and the most envied man in town, Richard Cory, who went home one night and put a bullet through his head, are four of the residents of the imaginary New England town. Robinson's choice of strikingly original and unusual sounding names adds much to the enjoyment of his poetry. However, pleasure often turns into delight when we discover that the poet selects names for reasons other than mere picturesqueness. Names that strike us originally as colorful or euphonious sometimes play an important part in a poem in the revelation of character. For some of his poetic creations, Robinson borrows appropriate names from persons, real or fictional. His other characters have names susceptible of punning interpretations. Some of the names are subtly constructed to have the appearance of a surname, without actually occurring as surnames. Robinson is deliberate in his selection of names, for it is through the choice of a name that he often artfully betrays a character's motivation or behavior in a poem.

Some of Robinson's names are obvious borrowings. To the woman of Tilbury Town who warns the people against their worship of the Trinity of the "Dollar, Dove, and Eagle," but whom "None heeded, and few heard," Robinson gives the specially suitable name *Cassandra*. Another equally appropriate borrowing is the name *Amaryllis*. In his edition of Robinson's Tilbury Town poems, Lawrance Thompson has the following note on "Amaryllis."

In the pastoral tradition of poetry, "Amaryllis" is the name which usually represents the type of the perfect or ideal woman, frequently with spiritual or mystical and platonic extensions of meaning. Here, Robinson establishes a wistful and ironic antithesis between the *death* of Amaryllis and the *life* of the modern materialistic age, symbolized by Tilbury Town.[1]

The name of his New England town, as Emery Neff has pointed out, Robinson presumably took from the tilbury, a smart, two-wheeled open carriage often to be seen in the streets of Gardiner, Massachusetts, in the poet's youth.[2]

When Robinson adopts a historical or mythological name for one of his creations, he selects the name of a person with whom his character has a close or even ironic affinity. For the town liar whom the poet crowns "loveliest" "of all authoritative liars," and whom every child loved faithfully, Robinson selects the name *Uncle Ananias*. His reason for doing so is obvious. In the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament, Ananias is the name of a disciple at Jerusalem who tried to lie even to the Holy Ghost. The Bible is the source of another of Robinson's names. Luke inscribes his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles to Theophilus, a Greek word meaning 'lover of God.' In his poem, "Theophilus," Robinson ironically bestows the name upon a malevolent and devilish old creature whom everyone likes best asleep.

The name of a rather obscure mathematician gives Robinson the name *Bokardo* for his shifty old coward who fashions his own downfall. Bokardo reviles the very people who befriend him, and he is too cowardly to commit suicide even though he derides religion and blasphemes God. In his note to the poem "Bokardo," Mr. Thompson comments that Robinson achieves an added symbolism here by naming the imagined character after a mathematician.[3] Mr. Thompson's comment is pertinent; for there is an implicit irony in naming a cowardly atheist after a scientist in light of the long-standing controversy between science and religion.

The name *Richard Cory* suggests another borrowing. In the sonnet Robinson carefully chooses words befitting a king. Richard Cory was a gentleman from head to foot, or as the poet says, "from sole to crown." Richard Cory was "imperially slim" and "he glittered when he walked." When Robinson says of Richard, "And he was rich—yes, richer than a king—" perhaps he is punning on the

accented syllable of the first name. Not only does Robinson's choice of diction suggest a king-like figure, but the name itself has suggestive overtones of royalty. *Cory* might well have been suggested by *Coeur,* and the complete name *Richard Cory* suggestive of Richard Coeur de Lion, the title given Richard I. By anglicizing and giving his imagined character the name of a king who has come down in history and legend as the embodiment of the romantic medieval knight but who was in reality spiritually corrupt and dissolute, Robinson underlines the contrast between Richard Cory's majestic outward appearance and his inner spiritual bankruptcy.

Perhaps the most interesting of Robinson's proper names are those in which he reveals his punning instinct. The poet's puns are not obvious ones. They are concealed, and the name must be carefully attended before the punning intention is recognized. The proper name is Robinson's favorite medium for his subtle linguistic antics, but his puns on names often have a deeper purpose than just clever word play. Once the play on words is discovered, Robinson's use of the pun as a clue to the character's psychological motivation or behavior becomes apparent.

The poem, "John Evereldown," is an example of Robinson's flair for puns that are valuable in the portrayal of character. The poet has apparently constructed the name from the three words, *ever, held,* and *down,* which collectively convey the idea of having been repressed. Besides the humor of the play on words, the pun helps to explain the character's motivation which, in turn, assists in clarifying the meaning of the poem. John Evereldown fancies he hears the women of the town calling him. Sexual repression has made him a skirt-crazed reprobate who must "follow the women wherever they call." John Evereldown has become a slave to passion and his life is spent on the treadmill of desire.

The name *Eben Flood* in "Mr. Flood's Party" is a second example of Robinson's use of subtle puns. Here Robinson constructs a name that puns on the phrase "ebb and flood," a variant form of "ebb and flow," which refers to the rise or fall of the tide. Figuratively, the phrase is used in speaking of the rise and fall of human fortunes. Shakespeare makes figurative use of the phrase in *The First Part of Henry the Fourth* when Prince Hal says to Falstaff, ". . . for the fortune of us that are the moon's men doth ebb and flow like the sea."

(I, ii, 35–37) Robinson has undoubtedly run together the words *ebb and* to make the first name *Eben* and used the familiar surname *Flood*. Mr. Flood's life is ebbing away in the same town where he has enjoyed life at its flood. In the flood of life, Eben had many friends. Left alone, Mr. Flood is surrounded by strangers; the only friend left is his jug. The appropriateness of the name is pointed up in the concluding lines:

> There was not much that was ahead of him,
> And there was nothing in the town below—
> Where strangers would have shut the many doors
> That many friends had opened long ago.

In creating a name for his bibulous and belated romanticist who "missed the medieval grace of iron clothing," Robinson converted into proper names two nouns suggestive of the days for which his hero sighed. The "child of scorn's" first name puns on the word *miniver,* a fur highly esteemed in the Middle Ages as a part of the costume, and *Cheevy* was no doubt suggested by Chevy Chase, the scene of a famous Border skirmish celebrated in the well-known medieval ballad. Robinson's choice of words associated with "the days of old / When swords were bright and steeds were prancing," shows how he deliberately constructs names to assure a punning interpretation.

Robinson's punning intentions are never on the surface. Sometimes the puns are concealed so well that they almost evade the reader. An example of Robinson's tendency to make hidden puns is the name *Flammonde.* The name is surely a compound of the French words *flam* and *monde* which may be translated together into English as 'light of the world.' Here Robinson is perhaps punning on the translation of the name. The phrase, Biblical in origin, is used frequently in the New Testament. There are references in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, to Christ as the "light of the world," and Jesus speaks of himself in John 8:12 and 9:5 saying, "I am the light of the world." Also there is a close affinity between the characters of Jesus and Robinson's "Prince of Castaways." Flammonde is described as a man "from God knows where," and the description may be interpreted either colloquially as not being able to say where he comes from or literally as God knows where Flammonde comes from. Like Jesus, Flammonde is an enigma to the

people of Tilbury Town. His conduct, his mien, his ethics are so out of the ordinary that everyone is bewildered by the man with "incommunicable ways" who makes the people ponder while they praise. In characterizing one so different from others, Robinson asks, "What small *satanic* sort of kink was in his brain?" The choice of the adjective *satanic* is significant for its implications. Would not the people of Tilbury Town or any town judge a modern-day Christ as a devil rather than a saint?

There is also a parallel between the careers of Flammonde and Christ. Flammonde's acceptance of the woman with "a long-faded scarlet fringe" has its counterpart in Christ's forgiveness of the sinful woman who anointed His feet in a city of Galilee. Flammonde's recognition of the "boy that all agreed / Had shut within him the rare seed / Of learning," is parallel with Jesus' restoration of the deaf and dumb man in the Book of Mark. When Flammonde "said what was wrong / Should be made right" and settled the dispute between the two men who had fought for many years over nothing, there are echoes of Jesus' peaceful reconciliations of ancient rivalries and enemies of long standing. The many similarities between Jesus' and Flammonde's characters as well as the parallels between their careers suggest that the poem is Robinson's re-telling of the Christ story in modern language, and the concealed pun on the name Flammonde gives strength to such an interpretation.

Finally there are names that suggest a punning intention, but the puns are so well concealed that any interpretation offered must be conjectural. One of Robinson's most complex and obscure puns is suggested by the name that he gives the Shylock of Tilbury Town, the unkempt miser whose eyes shone "like little dollars in the dark." Aaron Stark's first name is Jewish in origin, and the name goes back to the first high priest of the Hebrews and the brother of Moses (Exodus 4:14). In the Biblical account of Aaron, his rod or staff turned into a serpent when he cast it before Pharaoh. Later, the rod is supposed to have burst into bloom and bore almonds. Today the botanical term *Aaron's rod* is applied to any of several plants with a tall flowering stem. The Biblical associations with the name are skillfully evoked when Robinson describes Aaron Stark as "A loveless exile moving with a staff."

At first glance, it might be assumed that Robinson used the re-

vered Jewish name with its Biblical overtones and the adjective *stark* as a surname to suggest the utter degeneration of one of God's chosen people. However the poet's frequent use of names containing hidden word play suggests another interpretation. It is possible that Robinson's knowledge of the term *Aaron's rod* suggested both the name and the possibility of making a concealed pun on the name. Using the possessive *s* on the name Aaron as the first letter of the surname and inserting a *t* for euphony, Robinson could have formed the name *Aaron Stark* from the phrase *Aaron's Ark*. The choice of *ark* as the word in the surname to pun upon would have certainly been a fortunate one, for the word has an intimate connection with the history of the Jewish race and is susceptible of several interpretations.

In the Middle Ages an ark was a chest, coffer, covered basket, or other receptacle for storing money, bonds, gold, or other valuables. Webster's New International Dictionary cites the following quotation from Pollock and Maitland as an example of the use of the word in dialectical English:

> His (the Jew's) choice of a dwelling place seems to have been confined to those towns which had *"arks,"* or as we might say, "loan registries."[4]

If Robinson is punning on either of the above meanings of the word, he is referring to Aaron's money hoard. But the pun increases in complexity when it is recalled that ark can also refer to the oblong chest occupying the most sacred place in the sanctuary in which were the two tables of stone containing the ten commandments. Besides punning on the word *ark* as a place for storing money, Robinson could also be playing on the meaning of *ark* as in Ark of the Covenant. Finally, the ark can be the vessel in which Noah and his family were preserved during the deluge; hence, figuratively speaking, ark may be a place of refuge. Robinson could have chosen the word for all its associations with Jewish history and used it to suggest a multiplicity of meanings. The poet may be playing with the idea of the miser's finding refuge or solace in both his money and his Jewish heritage; hence, his scorn of those that pity him.

Another equally suggestive but somewhat esoteric instance of word play is the name Cliff Klingenhagen. Cliff drinks wormwood as his friends drink wine, but he remains the happiest man in town. Cliff is a spiritual cousin of Mithridates in Housman's "Terence!

This is Stupid Stuff . . ." Cliff takes his bitterness in small daily doses in order to protect himself against any sudden and overwhelming disaster. Klingenhagen is a compound of two German words *klingen* and *hagen*. One of the meanings of the German verb *klingen* in English is to clink or to emit a sound as the one produced by two wine glasses being touched together. The second word may be translated as fence or place fenced in. There is a German idiom in which the word may mean protection against damage done by hail. Klingenhagen is a not unlikely proper name, and Robinson may have selected it for its Germanic sound; but his practice of choosing names with punning interpretations suggests that he might have had in mind the English equivalents when he chose the name and was playing with the idea of clinking wine glasses as a fence or insurance against future misfortune.

American and British literature is long on names suggesting word play. In *The Story of Our Names,* Elsdon C. Smith has cited Scott, Dickens, Bunyan, and Thackeray as examples of writers particularly noted for the apt names they have chosen for their characters; and Mr. Smith comments that Dickens' names are appropriate because they contain a subtle, half-suggestion of words in our language associated with traits embodied in Dickens' characters so named. *Squeers* suggests 'squints' and 'queer'; *Moddle* was weak, bringing to mind 'mollycoddle'; and *Phunky* signifies both 'flunky' and 'funk.'[5] Although Robinson chooses names with puns for many of his Tilbury Town characters, it is improbable that any of his names will ever have the wide popularity of Scott's *Dryasdust* or Sheridan's *Malaprop*. To be generally accepted, the word play in a name must be on the surface and almost immediately perceived. The pleasure that comes from Robinson's name puns is a qualified one; the reader must sometimes exert a great deal of effort to unravel the mystery of the pun. But the reward justifies the effort, for it gives insight into Robinson's nature and reveals a facet of his mind often overlooked.

NOTES

[1] Lawrance Thompson, *Tilbury Town: Selected Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1953), p. 139.

[2] Emery Neff, Edwin Arlington Robinson (New York, 1948), p. 61.

[3] Thompson, *op. cit.,* p. 136.

[4] *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass., 1954), p. 149.

[5] Elsdon C. Smith, *The Story of Our Names* (New York, 1950), pp. 260–261.

Names for Delaware

A. R. DUNLAP

In the year 1776 the strip of territory along the west bank of Delaware Bay and River now known as the State of Delaware emerged from colonialism. Before that time it had had various names, but for one reason or another no name had been generally adopted. To judge by the inquiries I have received about these early names, they are a matter of considerable interest to many people, as well as a matter about which a certain amount of misinformation persists. To clear up whatever confusion there may still be, and to make readily available an account of how a land area of some 2000 square miles achieved a distinctive name, the following paragraphs are presented.

Indian names for what is now Delaware, if there were any, did not find their way into the records. A reputed Lenape name for eastern Pennsylvania was *Winakaking* 'sassafras land'[1] and Delaware may have been part of the area so designated, although this is by no means certain. Perhaps the explanation for the scarcity of aboriginal names for land areas like Delaware is that the Indians were more inclined to name individual features such as rivers, islands, headlands, and waterfalls than large geographical areas.

The first European settlers on the Delaware River were Dutch. Having carved out for themselves a section of the continent which they called New Netherland (*Nieu Nederland, Nova Belgica, Nova Batavia*), and having established a seat of government in New Amsterdam, the Dutch usually referred to that part of their territory in which we are interested as the South River (*Zuyd Rivier*) of New Netherland, or simply the South River, in order to distinguish it from their other large river to the north (i.e., the Hudson, or North River).

The usual Swedish name for the area along the west bank of the

Delaware was New Sweden (*Nya Swerige, Nova Suecia*), but the Swedes sometimes added a phrase like *in India Occidentali* 'in the West Indies' to indicate the general location of their colony. The name "West Indies," as is generally known, used to be applied to continental America—not merely to a group of islands off the coast. More frequently, however, "Florida" was the term of identification, and men spoke of the South River of Florida, and of those interested in trade in this area as the Swedish Florida Company. This made sense at that time because "Florida" was then the name for a large section of the continent, which could be thought of as containing New Sweden.

As far as the English were concerned, the Dutch and the Swedes occupied the territory along the Delaware merely on sufferance. It was part of Virginia, or North Virginia, and had been since the time of Sir Walter Raleigh's grant.[2] But even the Dutch and the Swedes used "Virginia" as a term of geographical convenience. Thus we find references to Delaware Bay in Virginia, to Swedish Virginia, to New Sweden in Virginia, etc.[3] Lord Baltimore's patent of 1632 for territory extending "unto that part of the bay of Delaware on the north which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude" introduced a complicating factor, for he was disposed to consider the land bordering the west side of Delaware Bay and River his, and to include it under the name "Maryland." What he did not consider a part of Cecil County he set up as a separate county, for which the name "Durham" was first proposed, but which became, in the end, the county of Worcester.[4]

In 1634 there was granted to Sir Edmund Plowden, by Irish patent, the territory between New England on the north and Maryland on the south. For this sizable "plantation" was chosen that most musical of names: "New Albion." Just how far south New Albion was supposed to extend is uncertain. Most writers on the subject agree that at least some of Delaware was included.[5] Plowden and his supporters pushed the line as far down as they thought the law might allow, with the result that all of Delaware came within their bounds. But Baltimore's grant was clearly in conflict. When all is said and done, the question is a thoroughly academic one, since Plowden never succeeded in his efforts to occupy the territory. "New Albion" is consequently no more than a ghost name.

With full English control of the Delaware from 1664 on (except for a brief Dutch interlude in 1673–4), a new trend in names for the territory along the west bank is to be looked for. Instead of being a part of New Netherland, as the Dutch considered it, it then became part of the "Territories in America" of the Duke of York and was often included under such general terms as "the Duke's of York dominions in America" and "New York and dependencies";[6] but it was most frequently referred to by means of the name "Delaware"—which had been applied years before, as a geographical name, by the Virginians[7]—in phrases like "at Delaware Bay," "in Delaware Bay & Delaware River," "in Delaware River," "at Delaware," etc.[8] Thus, for example, we are likely to find, in documents of the period, reference to an event taking place "at Delaware," or to a journey that someone was making "to Delaware," or to a letter that had been received "from Delaware"; but we must not jump to the conclusion that the "Delaware" of that period equals the "Delaware" of today. "Delaware" then meant land along the whole stretch of the bay and river and thus indicated part of Pennsylvania as well as the lands now comprising the State of Delaware,[9] and it could also mean those parts of New Jersey along the eastern "shore," even if specific references to "the Delaware Colony," or "the Delaware Plantation," usually excluded the Jerseys.[10] This is an example of the time-honored practice of referring to a river valley by the name of the river which drains it. (The Dutch had used the name "South River" in the same way.) Not that this practice was without influence later on when the state was officially named, but for the period with which we are concerned it must be realized that "Delaware" was not strictly applied, as a territorial name, to the narrow strip along the west bank of the bay and river below Marcus Hook. The development is perhaps in that direction, but the tale is not done.

In 1671 the town of New Castle—or Delaware Town, as it came to be called—was made the center of authority for the whole river. It is not surprising, therefore, to find references to "the towne of New Castle, otherwise called Delaware," "the town of New Castle in Delaware River and dependences," "the Towne and Jurisdiction of New Castell," "the Towne or River of delowar," "the Towne of New Castle, and Plantations in Delaware River," "the Towne, and

all Plantations upon Delaware River," "New Castle and other parts in Delaware River," etc.[11] Here again we have designations for the territories up and down and across[12] the river, and not for the state as it is now constituted.

With the arrival of William Penn in 1682, the west bank of the Delaware—the Province of Pennsylvania—began to govern itself, as it had not done since the days of Swedish sovereignty. The tendency for those at the center of things, in Philadelphia, was to think of the strip from the mouth of the bay (and beyond) to the point where New Castle's twelve-mile circle intersected the river, as the lower part of Penn's province—an appendage. The records of the period are thus full of such appellatives for Delaware as the following: "the Lower Countyes," "the Three lower Counties," "[the Province of Pennsylvania and] Parts adjacent," "the lower Pensilvania," "the Province of Delaware," "[the Province of Pennsilvania &] Territories thereunto Belonging," "the three Lower Counties on Delaware," "Pensilvania Colonies," "the Territory of Pensland," "[our province of Pensilvania and] country of Delaware" (once shortened to "[Pensilvania and] Delaware"), "the Three Lower Counties, Newcastle, Jones's, and New Deal," "the three Lower Countys of New Castle, Kent and Sussex," "the Town and Tract of Newcastle, and the Two lower Counties upon the river Delaware," "[Pensilvania, and] territories annexed," "the . . . Countrey of New Castle," "the Government of the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex (up)on Delaware," etc.[13] These names, though adequate for the purposes of communication, were almost all cumbersome to use and at the same time humiliating to the inhabitants of the sector so designated.

The story of the mounting dissatisfaction of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex with the treatment they received as part of the Province of Pennsylvania, and of the gradual pulling away of the lower counties from the upper, need not be recounted here. It is enough to say that, no matter how strong the feeling of independence was, it did not effect, during the years before the Revolution, the widespread adoption of a distinctive name for the dissenting counties. Occasional use in this period, however, of such names as "Province of Delaware" or "country of Delaware" may perhaps be considered a straw in the wind. When 1776 came, the political

leaders in New Castle, Kent, and Sussex framed for their territory a constitution in which the area to be governed was called "the Delaware State." This name stood until the constitution of 1792 became effective. From that time on the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex have been called "the State of Delaware."

In a journal entry for August 28, 1610, Samuel Argall referred to the cape "in thirtie-eight degrees twenty minutes of northerly latitude" as "Cape La Warr," a name given in honor of the Governor of Virginia, Lord de la Warr.[14] This governor's name was applied, by transfer, first to the river and bay whose entrance is marked by the cape (at least as early as 1621[15]), then to the river valley (in 1664), then in the 1670's to the town of New Castle, then (on occasion) to the counties which withdrew from Pennsylvania near the turn of the century, and finally—one hundred and sixty-six years after the date of the first recorded use of the name—to these counties as they came to constitute an independent political unit.

Territory and name were at last united. There is no prospect of divorce.

NOTES

[1] D. G. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 232; but cf. *Walam Olum* (Indiana Historical Society, 1954), p. 173.

[2] See, for example, *New York Colonial Documents* (Albany, 1853), III, 16.

[3] References to the examples cited are as follows: *Maryland Archives,* III, 21; *New York Colonial Documents,* XII, 47; Thomas Campanius, *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden,* tr. Du Ponceau (Philadelphia, 1834), pp. 15, 71.

[4] *Maryland Archives,* V, 56, 57, 108–9, 547.

[5] See, for example, *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2nd series, XX, 70.

[6] *Record of Upland Court,* ed. Armstrong (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 36; *New York Colonial Documents,* XII, 530; *Records of the Court of New Castle* (Meadville, Pa., 1935), II, 56.

[7] See the second last paragraph of this paper, and footnote 15.

[8] References to the examples cited are as follows: *New York Colonial Documents,* III, 70; *The Duke of York Record* (Wilmington, Del., 1903), p. 23; *Record of Upland Court,* p. 46; *The Duke of York Record,* p. 24.

[9] It goes without saying that this use of the name "Delaware" for areas all up and down the river has made for a good deal of confusion. For instance, tracts of land "in Delaware," which the unwary often assume to be in the State of Delaware, may prove to be in Pennsylvania or New Jersey instead (*New York Colonial Documents,* XII, 547–52; *The Duke of York Record,* pp. 125–6; etc.)

[10] *New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, I, 51, 114 ff.; *Maryland Archives,* II, 528; *New York Colonial Documents,* III, 237, 239.

[11] References to the examples cited are as follows: *Pennsylvania Archives,* 1st series, I, 52; *New York Colonial Documents,* XII, 514; *Records of the Court of New Castle,* I, 3; *ibid.,* I, 63; *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York,* ed. Paltsits (Albany, 1910), II, 562; *ibid.,* II, 670; *ibid.,* II, 674–5.

[12] For evidence that the authorities on the western bank had jurisdiction over set-

tlements on the eastern bank see *Records of the Court of New Castle,* I, 37, 161, etc., and cf. *Record of Upland Court,* p. 80.

[13] References to the examples cited are as follows: *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1852), I, 104; C. H. B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 294; *Pennsylvania Archives,* 8th series, I, 5–6; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LIV, 253; Penn Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. XV, item 211; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, loc. cit.;* Turner, *op. cit.,* p. 187; *New York Colonial Documents,* III, 622; *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2nd series, VII, 342; *New York Colonial Documents,* III, 536 and 537; *Pennsylvania Archives,* 8th series, I, 5; *Calendar of State Papers, 1702–3,* p. 509; *State of New Jersey v. State of Delaware* (U. S. Supreme Court, No. 19 Original, October Term, 1929), Defendant's Exhibit 625, p. 2; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* I, 57; *New York Colonial Documents,* III, 835; *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware* (Wilmington, 1770), passim, but especially p. 38.

[14] *Hakluytus Posthumus,* or *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), XIX, 84; cf. J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1853), I, 51, 753–4, and Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* (New York, 1911), I, 167.

[15] *The Records of the Virginia Company of London,* ed. Kingsbury (Washington, 1906), I, 504.

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Kentucky Folklore Record is the name of a new quarterly published by the Kentucky Folklore Society (founded 1912). D. K. Wilgus, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Kentucky, is the editor of the journal.

Indian Tribes and Place Names.—In Bulletin 9 of the Archeological Society of New Jersey, our charter member and contributor, C. A. Weslager, published an interesting and thorough article, "Robert Evelyn's Indian Tribes and Place-Names of New Albion."

The Colorado Magazine of July and October, 1955, contains an excellent contribution to the cartographical history of Colorado by our charter member, Levette J. Davidson.

About American Pseudonymity

C. GRANT LOOMIS

THE IMPULSE WHICH LEADS A WRITER to conceal his creation behind a pseudonym is as old as the scribal art. The reasons for concealment are many: modesty (possibly colored by doubt about the creation's value); safety (in respect to satyric or erotic utterances); freedom (for unorthodox expressions); mystification (the delight in creating a new personality); vocational substitution (protection of a reputation in a particular field under one's true name); sex (especially when it was not proper for ladies to appear in print); style (each kind of creation under a different name); journalistic tradition (editorial anonymity); and human arbitrariness.

The choice of a pseudonym today follows a relatively simple pattern, a substitution of a given name and surname for actual names. Few modern, major prose writers use such concealment. Poets prefer their own names. At lower literary levels, correspondence to newspapers and journals, communicators of opinions and emotions make use of simple substitutions: a parent; worried; doubtful, etc.; rarely do unexpected or ingenious appellations appear. Such feeble nonce-names are mildly suggestive of the originality once employed in the boisterous days of American journalism, roughly, 1850–1890. One thinks at once of Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) and his lively contemporaries, nearly all of whom were better known by their pseudonyms than by their real names.[1] Sam Clemens merely followed the fashion in his adaptation. His friend and mentor, Dan De Quille (William Wright), on the *Virginia City Enterprise,* represented the characteristic western dualism under which journalists and miner-writers lived a double identity. However, the range of pseudonymic ingenuity is insufficiently represented by established authors. We must look much lower to the host of minor contributors to publications of the past. The first volume of *Puck* (1877)

shows the possibilities of pseudonymous concepts, and their general classification indicates a play of fancy from dullness to wit.

1. Substitutes for conventional patterns: The choice of *Ebenezer Snaggs, Silas Drift,* and *J. R. Bazoo,* in the Artemus Ward–Josh Billings tradition, considered the unlikelihood of correspondence to names borne by living persons. The use of a nickname and unusual surname strengthened the possibility of uniqueness: *Ned Scupper.* Alliterative protection appears in *Harry Harewood.* Creations like *Gath Brittle, Clus Garnet, Mont Layne* and *Mel. R. Colquitt* suggest entire or partial anagrammatic play upon the author's true name.

2. Wordplay: Somewhat lower in the scale of name invention is the characteristic American humorist's tendency to play with words. We find such self-ascriptions as: *Sam Arkand, Jim Krax, Will Wander* and *Adam Shamly* (a damn shame-ly); or formations such as: *C. R. Edit, R. E. Son, D. I. Sappointment, P. Q. Lyre, E. U. Reca, R. R. Biler* (railroad boiler), *B. Dadd* (by dadd, euphemism for By God), *X. It* and *E. Udi.*

3. Learned reference: In the days when High School students studied classical and modern languages, and were familiar with the bible and general mythology and lore, readers might appreciate the allusions concealed in various categories of nonce-names: a) Latin: *Americus, Dubitatio, Fides, Vindex, Nemo, Radix, Medus, Vibrans, Nassiter, Asper, Domi, Custos* and *Mythus.* b) writers and heroes: *Terentius, Herodotus Jr., Safoet* (= Sappho-ette), *Scipio* and *Leonidas.* c) mythology: *Nereid, Zephyr, Thespis, Calypso, Chiron, Lysander, Acheron* and *Pan,* as well as *Valkyrie* and *Pixie.* d) bible: *Esau, Jeremiah, Moses, Simon, Hepzibah* and *Zerubbabel.* e) general literary: *Roland, Shelley Jr., Touchstone, McDuff, Godolphin* and *Barnaby.* f) various: *Almaviva, Barbe-Bleue, Carlyon* (= carillon), *Le Clear, Fanchon, Rajar, Elah Hodi* and *Deshon.*

4. Animal, vegetable, mineral: Choices of names, ready at hand, relevant perhaps to unconscious affinities, are the derivations from animate to inanimate nature: a) creatures: *Fish, Jay-Hawk, Pony, Pussie, Salamander* and *Warm Bee.* b) flora: *Rutabaga, Shagbark, Daffodil, Daisy, Magnolia, Pink Blossom* and *Rose.* c) jewels: *Carcanet, Jasper, Pendent* and *Smaragd.*

5. Locations and origins: Birthplaces, scenes of habitation and

visitation suggest ready pseudonyms: *Tennessee, Kansas, Belle Isle, Denver, Duluth, Key West, Keokuk, Sawkill, Waukesha* and *Yankton.* From Spanish sources, used possibly by western writers, appear: *Chico, Jacinto* and *Quito. Uintah* (Indian). College associations: *Harvard, Vassar* and *Phi Upsilon.*

6. States of mind: Casual contributors reflected themselves in qualifying adjectives: *Azurine, Bumptious, Culinary, Earnest, Frenzied* and *Patient.* Others use suggestive nouns: *Barleycorn, Etiquette, Gourmet, Sand-Flyer, Surf-Wrestler* and *Tenter-Hooks.*

7. Nicknames: An easy appellation of self are nicknames bestowed upon one by others: *Buz, Brin, Carli, Lulu, Sniggles, Toph, Tub* and *Van.* The adoption of a regional nickname served one contributor: *Blue-nose* (New Englander or Nova Scotian).

8. Miscellaneous categories: a) occupations: *Sailor, Scribe* and *Weaver. Typo* belongs here as a reflection of the printer's trade. b) alphabet: *A.B.C., X.Y.Z., Alpha, Omega* and *Didi* (D.D.).

9. Unclassified: Finally, human vagaries lead to the unexpected and limitless name-choices which defy any specific classification: *Bingo:* reference to the game or to the impact of sound. *Brevier:* choice of a gentleman of the cloth (?). *Bucket:* the contemporary popularity of "The Old Oaken Bucket" might be the source. *Buskin:* either an actor or an aspirant to the stage. *Clephane:* does not reveal its pronunciation, two syllables or three. Lost allusion (?). *Dolatka* (?). *Doremi:* for one musically inclined. *Dough:* from the thought of money (?). *Emigrant. Fountain. Gano* (?). *Kidoodle:* Not in Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms. Mono. Muscatel. Muzzle. Pickleburg:* nickname of a town (?). *Schottische:* German for a favorite dance. *Subsoda* and *Xampi* (?).

The pseudonymic storehouse of yesterday, suggested by a single year's run of one magazine, reveals in cross-section a fertility of nonce-name invention as well as a literate-frequency which seems to have passed. Today's need, if any, might well be supplied by a handbook from a specialist.

NOTES

[1] One recalls some of these names as: Artemus Ward (Charles Farrar Browne; Josh Billings (Henry Wheeler Shaw); Orpheus C. Kerr (Robert Henry Newell); Petroleum V. Nasby (David Ross Locke); John Phoenix (George Horatio Derby); Mrs. Partington (Benjamin Penhallow Shillibar); Doesticks (Mortimer Neal Thompson); Bill Arp (Charles Henry Smith) and Eli Perkins (Melville de Lancey Landon). In Nevada journalism, Fred Hart kept his name for his humorous effusions (*Sazerac Lying Club*) but used Van Jacquelin for his political reporting. James W. Gally, a better than average writer, remained lost until recently in his signature, *Singleline.*

Origin of Names on the Great Lakes

IVAN H. WALTON

On his second voyage to the New World, Jacques Cartier on August 10, 1535, dropped anchor in a small bay on the north side of a wide estuary that appeared to be the mouth of a large river. It was the feast day of Saint Lawrence, and he named the bay in the saint's honor. Later the name became applied to the whole gulf and also to the wide river which extends 750 miles inland to the North American Great Lakes. And so was named the New World's most outstanding river system.

Today these lakes and their connecting rivers and the upper St. Lawrence, approximately equal in area to that of the British Isles, form approximately 2000 miles of the peaceful boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Upon the shores of these inland seas are located six of the twelve largest cities of the United States and an equal proportion of the population and industrial centers of Canada, and over them annually passes a greater commercial tonnage than that of the American Atlantic and Pacific ports combined. They have for over three quarters of a century been considered as "high seas" by the governments concerned; and, when the projected improvements in the St. Lawrence above Montreal are completed, they will become open to all but the largest ocean ships, and their importance in the economy of the two bordering nations will be materially increased.

The origins of the present names on these lakes and their connecting rivers and canals is not without interest. Strangely enough the easternmost, or "Lower Lakes," were not the first to be named and represented on contemporary maps. Lake Huron was first, and it took its name from the Indians who at the time inhabited its eastern and southern shores. These people, according to the Jesuit missionary Jerome Lalemant, received their name in a quite un-

usual manner. In his *Relation* of 1639[1] he states that about 40 years earlier when some natives from this region appeared at the French trading post, "a sailor or soldier seeing for the first time these species of barbarians, some of whom wore their hair in ridges,—a ridge of hair one or two fingers wide appearing upon the middle of their heads and on either side the same amount being shaved off, then another ridge of hair . . . and this fashion of wearing the hair making their heads look like those of boars (hures) led him to call these barbarians 'Hurons,' and this is the name that has clung to them ever since." These Indians referred to themselves as "Wendats," and they have given their name to a Michigan city on the Detroit river.

When Champlain in 1615 first came upon the wide expanse of the Bay and Lake from which these Indians came, he named it *la Mer Douce,* or the Fresh Water Sea. It was also designated as *Lac d'Orleans,* but the religious workers who early established a mission in their midst near the site of the present city of Midland, Ontario, consistently referred to it as "the Lake of the Hurons," and so designated it in their reports, and so it has remained. The name Huron has since been applied to several counties, rivers, and cities in the larger area.

Georgian Bay, which comprises about one third of the Lake's total area, was named in honor of King George III of England by Henry Wolsey Bayfield when he first surveyed the Lake.[2] The derivation of the name of the strait which connects Lakes Huron and Michigan is somewhat complicated. An early form of the present name, Mackinac, was first applied only to the island in the strait which had long been a favorite gathering place of the Chippewa nation, and later became a fur trade, missionary, and military headquarters, and a popular resort center. During the French regime the name came to be applied to the surrounding area, including the Straits and adjacent areas of both Michigan Peninsulas.

The first recorded name for the island is that found in the *Relations* of 1669–1670 where Fr. Claude Allouez refers to "a large island named *Michilimakinak* celebrated among the savages.[3] The spelling *Missilemakina* was soon substituted, and in the century following scores of other variant spellings appeared as the writers attempted to reproduce the native Chippewa sounds in French and then in

English. It is quite probable that a faithful rendition of the Indian name in English is, as Schoolcraft indicates, *Mish-i-nim-auk-in-ong.*[4] Usage has shortened the name to its present form, and the island, strait, and county to the north of the strait have retained the French spelling, Mackinac, and the city on the northern tip of the Lower Peninsula uses the English form, Mackinaw, but the pronunciation of both is the same,—it rhymes with "saw."

The name has been given a number of interpretations. The prefix *michi* (*mishi, missi,* etc.) conveys the idea of extra largeness in size, and the last syllable *ong* (*ing, in an,* etc.) is locative, meaning 'place of.' The various spellings have led to such interpretations as 'home of the giant fairies,' 'place of the giant turtle,' and 'place of the great uplifted bow,' referring to the large natural bridge on the east side of the island. The Ottawa writer Andrew J. Blackbird, states that like many other Indian place names, the word is commemorative. He adds that a tradition among his people has it that the island was anciently inhabited by a friendly Algonquin tribe known as Michilimackinawgos, but they were practically exterminated during one of the early Iroquois invasions, and the island has since been known as the 'place of,' or 'home of' these people.[5] Fr. William Gagnier, scholar and long time missionary among the Indians of northern Michigan, agrees with this interpretation.[6]

The large body of water to the westward of the Straits, Lake Michigan, also derived its present name from a native original. In the *Relations* of 1666, in one of the earliest references to the lake, Fr. Allouez refers to it as *Match-i-hi-gan-ing.* A few years later Hennepin uses the spelling *Misch-i-gon-ong;* Marquette, *Michigami,* and Jolliet, *Misschiganin.* The *Relations* provide many other spellings.[7] Cadillac's *Memoir* written about 1697, calls it "Lac Michigan ou Ilinois," and later just "Lac Michigan."[8]

Fr. Gagnier, taking a lead from Schoolcraft, conjectures that the original name was something like *Mitchi-Sagaigan,* meaning 'very large lake."[9] Blackbird states that the word Michigan, "is an Indian name which we [Ottawas] pronounce Mi-chi-gum, and simply means monstrous lake."[10] It can be concluded that the present name is a result of a process of simplification of an Indian original which referred to a vast body of water.

The name of the state of Michigan to the westward and north-

ward of the lake is, of course, derived from that of the lake itself. The name was applied officially to the land area in 1805 when the United States Congress established the Territory of Michigan.

The northernmost of the Great Lakes, the largest, deepest, and perhaps the grandest, Lake Superior, derived its present name directly from the French missionaries. The Chippewa (Ojibwa) nation, who from ancient times have lived about its shores, referred to it as *Kitchi-* or *Gitchi-Gami,* meaning 'great lake or sea'—great not only in size, but in every other way. Fr. Allouez writes in the *Relation* just referred to that, "The Savages revere this Lake as a Divinity, and offer it sacrifices." He writes of ascending the St. Mary's river to "Lac Superieur, which will henceforth bear Monsieur de Tracy's name in recognition of indebtedness to him on the part of the people of those regions."[11] Gen. de Tracy had just led an expedition against the Iroquois and put an end to their forays for over a decade.

The name de Tracy, however, never became very deeply rooted, and two years later Fr. Lalemant wrote that "one of our Fathers passed the remainder of the summer and the following winter near the Lake which we call Superieur, from its position above that of the Hurons."[12] Our present name is but a translation, or perhaps, a mistranslation, but a happy one as it has much the same connotation as the original Chippewa name.

Lake Superior at the head of the St. Lawrence system empties into Lake Huron through the St. Mary's river which derived its name from one given by two missionaries, Joques and Raymbault, who in 1641 ascended the river by canoe to the rapids where the famous "Soo" locks are now located. The river here makes a spectacular descent of 18 feet through rapids known to the local Indians as *Pa-wa-teeg,* or *Pa-wa-ting,* meaning 'strong rapids or cascade.' At this place the missionaries preached to the assembled natives and named the rapids the *Saut de Sainte Marie,* the 'leap' or 'Falls of St. Mary,' in honor of the Virgin Mary and of their home Mission located near the site of the present city of Midland, Ontario.[13] The old French spelling *Saut* has been modernized to Sault, and is popularly known as "the Soo." The two cities that later grew up on either side of the river at this point have dropped the *de* but retained the French spellings of the other words, and are known today as Sault

Ste. Marie, Ontario and Michigan. The names of the river and of the famous locks here are both taken from that of the rapids, but in Anglicized form,—the St. Mary's and the St. Mary's Falls Canals, respectively.

The three Upper Lakes collectively discharge their waters through the St. Clair river, Lake St. Clair, and the Detroit river into Lake Erie. This three-part waterway seems to have been known to the early French as *le Détroit,* the strait, or it is possible that the term was applied only to the comparatively short waterway between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie. In 1679, however, the Sieur de La Salle sailed his *le Griffin* from its building place above the Falls of the Niagara to Green Bay in northwestern Lake Michigan. According to Fr. Louis Hennepin, chaplain on the expedition, they entered the small lake now known as Lake St. Clair on August 12, the festal day of Sainte Claire, and he named it in her honor.[14] Since the surrender of French Canada to the British, the name has been quite generally Anglicized, yet the French spelling is not unusual.

The name was also, apparently, applied to the river that connects this lake with the larger Lake Huron to the northward, and to the "Flats" at its mouth. There is no evidence available that either the lake or river was named for General Arthur St. Clair, first governor of the Northwest Territory. It is possible, however, that Michigan Territorial governor Louis Cass may have had the General in mind when in 1820 he established and named St. Clair County. It is more probable that he took the name from the river that flows the length of its eastern boundary.

The name "Detroit river" is somewhat of a redundancy, as the French word *détroit* means a 'strait' or 'waterway.' The word, however, lost that connotation long ago, and at present it simply designates a broad busy river and a highly industrialized city on its northwestern bank. When the French colonial governor Cadillac established a fort and trading post on the site of the present city in 1701, he named it in honor of the minister of colonies under Louis XIV. The fort was frequently referred to as *Fort Ponchartrain du Detroit,* and eventually it became simply Detroit, and the strait became the Detroit river.

Our present name for Lake Erie, the last of the five to be discovered, is derived from that of the Indian nation which, at the time

the first French explorers and missionaries penetrated the region of the Lower Lakes, were living along its southern shore. A map, dated 1656, of "Canada or New France," by N. Sanson d'Abberville, royal geographer of the French king, is the first to show the lake with its present name. He labeled it *L. Erie, ou du Chat,* that is, 'Lake Erie or of the nation of the Cat.'[15] Charlevoix later stated that the name came from the large number of wild cats found in the region.[16] A more widespread theory is that the name was given by the Iroquois to those Indians in some derision because of their prominent eyes, which characteristic reminded the Iroquois of that animal. The Cat nation was exterminated by the Iroquois shortly after mid century.

The Lake evidently acquired other names as well. Coronelli's map of New France, published in Paris in 1688, identifies it as, *Lac Erie ou Teiocharontiong et Lac de Conty et du Chat.*[17] The early name Erie, has, however outlasted all others.

The 363-mile-long canal between Lake Erie and the Hudson river, first opened in 1825, takes its name, "The Erie Canal," from the lake at its western terminus. It has been deepened and otherwise improved on several occasions, and its official name has been changed to "The New York State Barge Canal," but it is known quite universally under its old name.

The Welland Ship Canal, roughly parallel to the Niagara river and 20 miles to the westward, raises and lowers vessels the 327 feet difference between the levels of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Like the Erie and the St. Mary's canals, it also has been improved on several occasions and its original 40 locks reduced to eight and greatly enlarged, and its old name modified to that given above, but in popular parlance it is still known as "The Welland Canal," a name adopted from the river whose course the original canal followed for some distance. The river, in turn, was named by Lt. Gov. Simcoe in 1792 for the Welland river in Lincolnshire, England.[18]

The river outlet of Lake Erie, which is broken by the Niagara Falls, was known to the settlements of the St. Lawrence and to the home government in France some time before any European is known to have beheld its wonders. Indian traders had, no doubt, carried descriptions eastward. The map of Marc Lescarbot, published in France as early as 1609, shows a *saut,* 'falls,' in approximately their present location.[19] Champlain's maps of 1612 and 1632 also show a waterfall at the western end of *Lac S. Louis* (Lake On-

tario), but he obviously had not seen it, nor did he record any name.

The first recorded name appears in the *Relation* of 1641, from Lalemant to his superior. Attempting to reproduce the local Indian name with its apparent deep gutturals, he spelled it *Onguiaahra.*[20] Sanson's map referred to above, shortened it to *Ongiara Sault.* Many other spellings appear in the writings of the period, and four decades pass before Hennepin in his *Louisiane* wrote it "Niagara," and helped to establish its present form.[21]

The word probably originated with the Huron or Neuter Indians, those most closely associated with the river and with whom the first missionaries worked. It has also been attributed to the Mohawks of the Iroquois group; and it has been interpreted as meaning 'a neck' or 'strait,' and also as 'thunderer of waters.'[22]

Lake Ontario, being the nearest to the early St. Lawrence settlements, should have been the first to be discovered and named, but it lay in the country of the powerful Iroquois Confederation, the enemies of the Algonquins and, from Champlain's day, of the French as well. Their country was as a result, not as open to the explorers as were the more northerly regions.

As indicated on his map of 1632 already referred to, Champlain ignored the local Indian name of this lake as he had done a few years earlier when he labeled Lake Huron as *la Mer Douce,* and he named it *Lac S. Louis* for the far away French king. Sanson's maps of 1650 and 1656 repeat this name. The missionaries, always more sensitive to the ways of the Indians than were the government officials, preserved many of the local names. Fr. Brébeuf in his *Relation* of 1635 refers to this body of water as the *Lake of the Hiroquois.*[23] Fr. Lalemant in 1641 refers to it by its present name, as DeLaet had done two years earlier, and he adds, perhaps diplomatically, *ou St. Louys.* A few years later Fr. Raugeneau in his *Relation* of 1647–1648 refers to "a lake named Ontario which we call Saint Louys." In 1654 Fr. Le Moyne wrote simply of "a great lake called Ontario."

There seems to have been some uncertainty during the next few decades regarding the name of this lake. On his map referred to above, Coronelli, as he also did for Lake Erie, gathered up all the current names, and he labeled it "Lac Frontenac ou Ontario et Skaniadorio ou St. Louis." During the following years, however, the Indian name superseded all others, and today the lake is known

as Ontario, a beautiful name, said by a recent writer to mean 'beautiful lake.'[24]

The British North American Act of 1867 gave the name to 407,000 square miles of territory that had formerly been known as Upper Canada. The name also designates several counties, townships, cities, and rivers on both sides of the international boundary.

Leaving Lake Ontario through its outlet among the picturesque Thousand Islands at its lower end, we are once more upon the broad and swift waters of the St. Lawrence river, and we realize far more than Cartier ever dreamed the extent of the honor he paid a little known saint when he unwittingly named North America's greatest river system for him.

NOTES

[1] *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* 1610–1791, ed. by Ruben Gold Thwaites, Cleveland, The Burrows Brothers Company, 1899, 16 (1639) 229–231. Subsequent references to these documents will be designated as *Relations.*

[2] Fred Landon, *Lake Huron,* New York, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944, p. 147.

[3] *Relations,* 54, p. 201.

[4] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes,* Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1851, p. 443.

[5] Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians,* Ypsilanti, Mich., 1887, p. 89.

[6] William Gagnier, "Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula," *Michigan History Magazine,* 2 (July 1918), 527–528.

[7] W. L. Jenks, "History and Meaning of County Names," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 38 (1912) 440–442.

[8] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 16, p. 351.

[9] Gagnier, *op. cit.,* p. 547.

[10] Blackbird, *op. cit.,* p. 93.

[11] *Relations,* 50, p. 265.

[12] *Relations,* 45, p. 219.

[13] Schoolcraft, *op. cit.,* p. 114.

[14] F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries,* New York, Harper Brothers, 1954, p. 40.

[15] Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France,* New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1917, I, p. 6.

[16] Wm. Martin Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names in New York,* Albany, State Education Dept., 1907.

[17] Severance, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[18] G. H. Armstrong, *Origin and Meaning of Place Names in Canada,* Toronto, MacMillan Company of Canada, 1930, p. 298.

[19] Severance, *op. cit.,* p. 4.

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 20.

[22] W. F. Moore, *Indian Place Names in the Province of Ontario,* Toronto, MacMillan Company of Canada, 1930, p. 35.

[23] Severance, *op. cit.,* p. 18, *passim.*

[24] Arthur Pound, *Lake Ontario,* New York, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1945, p. 25.

Amerigo Vespucci

LEONARD B. LOEB

The name America is so important and the controversy concerning its application has been so long and bitter that this article will be welcomed although it contributes nothing new to the name itself. It was written as a supplement to Madison Beeler's article in the first issue of the first volume of *Names,* and offers additional evidence to justify the application of Amerigo's name to the southern part of our continent.

THE REAL CLAIM TO FAME of the man for whom the American continent is named has apparently passed unnoted by the majority of historians and navigators.[1] At the time of Columbus' first and second voyage there was no good value of the circumference of the earth and the accurate evaluation of longitude was virtually unknown. Latitude was regularly determined by observing the elevation of the pole star in the Northern Hemisphere and less accurately by constellations like the Southern Cross in the Southern Hemisphere using an astrolabe. The determination of the earth's circumference in leagues, or miles, and the establishment of longitude of points on the earth's surface poses a far more difficult problem. Today longitude is determined by measuring the angle of elevation of a given celestial object, usually a star or planet with a precision sextant, at a time as given by an accurate clock reading Greenwich Observatory time at zero longitude. Nautical almanacs give data which permit of the calculation of the exact position of a celestial object at the time of observation using an assumed latitude and longitude *near* the point of observation (usually estimated by a ship's run since the last observation). The difference in the observed and calculated assumed angles leads to the accurate determination of the longitude of the point of observation.[2] Thus all modern longitude determinations at sea depend on the use of an accurate chronometer keeping Greenwich time, an accurate instrument for observing angles of elevation and proper almanacs giving the predicted position of the celestial objects for use in computation.

The essential element, the chronometer, or fairly stable clocks and watches that remained constant with the motion of the ship and changing temperatures, were not developed until the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact, even until the advent of the radio time signal, in the early nineteen hundred and tens, ship's chronometers required checking by astronomical observation at points of established longitude, or in earlier times by the method of lunar intervals first applied to navigation and discovery in a systematic fashion during his first voyage by Amerigo Vespucci on August 23, 1499 off La Guaria, Venezuela. Even as late as 1780 Captain Cook checked his chronometers by this method and the method was in constant use by whaling ships and others in the long ocean crossings of the days of sail.

It is probable that the method, or variants of it, was known to the ancients as far back as the time of Hipparchus, 1500 years ago, and was on occasion used in estimating the circumference of the earth and fixing longitude on land. However, it appears not to have been put to practical use in navigation and exploration until Vespucci used it for identifying the lands revealed by the Columbian voyages as a new continent, establishing the geographical location of the 6700 miles of South American coast line which he surveyed in his two voyages and in marking the line separating the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of commercial and political influence in South America as established by Papal Authority in the Treaty of Tordisillas of June 7, 1494.

In principle, the method is as follows: The moon travels around the earth and thus over the celestial sphere faster than do the other planets or fixed stars. If it is possible to determine the time when the moon is in conjunction (passes by), some planet relative either to the local noon, or midnight, on a fixed day and if the time of the same conjunction relative to the local noon, or midnight, at a place of known longitude is observed then the difference in longitude is easily computed. For the difference in time of the events at the two locations in hours and fractions thereof divided by 24 and multiplied by 360° gives the difference in longitude in degrees and fractions thereof and fixes the longitude of the point of observation.

It is suspected that Amerigo studied under Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli of Florence, an astronomer and geographer of note. Tosca-

nelli had corresponded with and encouraged Columbus before his first voyage, had tutored Leonardo da Vinci, two years Amerigo's senior and had estimated the circumference of the earth, albeit inaccurately. While in principle the method is simple to us accustomed to watches and clocks, the matter was entirely different in Amerigo's time when the only available instruments were the hour and minute sand-glasses. To anyone who has used the minute sand-glass (some years back popular for boiling eggs), some of the inaccuracies and inconveniences are apparent. These glasses were quite unreliable on a ship in a sea way. Thus Amerigo had to await a period when his ship spent twenty days at anchor owing to injuries sustained by his crew in battle with the natives. During this period he had to establish his local midnight before conjunction by measuring accurately on successive days the time from sunset to sunrise by means of his hour and minute glasses, and halving the time observed. Then on the night of the conjunction, beginning at sunset, he established the time of conjunction of the moon and Mars as well as that of sunrise. On the basis of the Almanac of Regiomontanus he was able to note the time of the same conjunction for one of the cities in Spain of known longitude, for in those days conjunctions were a matter of importance for casting of horoscopes and so were given in almanacs.

On Amerigo's return to Spain and in incorporating his observations on the charts he was making, he began to suspect that Regiomontanus' times of conjunction were in error by an hour. It is presumed that he then checked Regiomontanus' data by observations of his own in Spain. Calculations of F. W. Pohl on the basis of existing records of Amerigo's studies indicate that with the correction of the errors of Regiomontanus, the circumference of the earth came to 27,000 Roman miles or 24,852 English miles. This value is only 50 miles short of the earth's true circumference and remains the most accurate estimate to modern times. The corrections enabled Amerigo properly to locate his observed 2700 miles of coast line on his maps and revealed to his annoyance that as an explorer for the Spanish Crown he had unwittingly been navigating far into Portuguese territory.

The second voyage of Vespucci in 1501–1502 was therefore made under the Portuguese flag and in this he surveyed from Cape San

Rocque 250 miles east of his previous eastern-most point for 4,000 miles south along the coast of South America to latitude 50 south and within two hundred and fifty miles of the Straits of Magellan. His most important contribution here was in picking the harbor which he called Cannanor, the modern harbor of Cannanae in Brazil, as marking the point of division between Portuguese and Spanish territory on the new continent. In this choice, his assignment of longitude by modern standards was in error by two minutes of arc, i.e., about two miles, a truly remarkable feat with the methods at his disposal.

The results of his explorations were recorded by him on maps which he made on his return and some of which are today extant. In consequence of his contributions to the art of navigation, he was appointed Pilot Major of Spain in 1505, and as such, ordered to instruct Spanish pilots in his new methods of navigation. Despite general opposition on the part of the pilots who refused to learn, it is quite apparent that the new techniques were acquired by enough navigators so that the method of lunar intervals became for many years the standard method of longitude determination and thus laid the foundation for all the later proper geographic exploration, until the time of accurate longitude determinations by astronomical observatories over the earth.

NOTES

[1] Exception to this statement lies in the excellent treatise of F. W. Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major,* Columbia University Press, 1944, and a brief mention in the Encyclopedia Britannica (eleventh ed.) by John Louis Emil Dreyer, Director, Armagh Observatory, in an article on Time.

[2] In practice there are several variants of the procedure, all in principle based on the solution of the celestial triangle from a known latitude and the position of some celestial object at a known instant of Greenwich time.

Melissa

DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS

Professor Lillian B. Lawler gave an interesting account of the name *Melissa* in ancient Greek.[1] Regarding the explanation of how a strong change in the name could have come about, I suggest another possible view.

Μέλισσα 'Honey-bee' as a name of industrious women,[2] creating sweet, pleasant life was and is natural. It is, in my opinion, from actual family and social life that such a name entered Greek religion and mythology. The name *Melissa* finally came to mean 'companion, courtesan, concubine'; although this meaning is not explicit and, for this reason, not recorded in the Greek dictionaries, yet it is implied from the names which Professor Lawler has noted.

The semantic way to the latter meaning is, I think, not the one indicated by Professor Lawler, namely from 'bee' to 'dancing bee' to 'courtesan.' To me it is conclusive that *Melissa* 'bee' came to mean 'priestess' (of Apollo, Demeter, Artemis, Cybele), also the plural *Melissai* 'priestesses of the cult' of the Magna Mater and of Demeter; *Melissai* and *Hierai Melissai* were priestesses of Demeter and Persephone. Then the name *Melissa,* 'priestess' and therefore 'chaste' (like *Vestal*), was taken to denote, certainly euphemistically, the 'female companion, courtesan.' The passage in Lucian,[3] "and will you be as good a girl as if you were not a hetaera but a priestess of Thesmophoros (= Demeter)," (mentioned by Lawler[4]) perhaps fits this development of meaning. As another parallel from the religious language there may be mentioned the term ἱερόδουλος f. 'temple-slave' and 'temple-courtesan, religious prostitute,' the latter meaning recorded for Corinth and other places.[5] It is well known that there was regular temple prostitution of slaves in the

cult of Aphrodite at Corinth and elsewhere. The learned modern Greek still includes the term ἱερόδουλος for 'prostitute.'

Such names are sarcastically used in many languages. So in ancient Greek, where παρθένος f. 'maid, virgin' occurs, names are recorded such as Παρθένιον[6] and Παρθενίς[7] as names of hetaerae. Furthermore, Παρθένιος as a man's name is found in the Iliad 16.80; he was the child of a known person in the story and of a prostitute.[8] And Παρθενίαι were the youths born at Sparta during the Messenian war, actually 'sons of concubines.' Modern Greek *kalá korítsja* 'good girls' means 'prostitutes' in slang.

With regard to the connotation of prostitution, it should be added that another possibility may exist. A goddess called *Mylitta*, worshipped at Babylon by the Assyrians, akin to Ishtar and concerned with childbirth, was identified by Herodotus[9] with Aphrodite (here Herodotus states that the Persians took over the Assyrian goddess Mylitta); every Babylonian woman, once in her life, had to sit in the precinct of the goddess and have intercourse with a stranger; she remained in the temple waiting (even for years, if ugly) till approached by a stranger in the name of the goddess Mylitta; the fee offered (a silver coin) was sacred because dedicated to the goddess.[10]

It is possible, then, that along with this custom, which Herodotus calls most foul, the Assyrian name *Mylitta* was taken over into Greek and by folk etymology became *Melitta* and *Melissa*. As Herodotus[11] states, the Assyrian custom was found also in certain parts of the island of Cyprus. I assume that, as the goddess *Mylitta* was transformed into *Melissa* in Greek religion, so also her temple-prostitutes took over the same name.

In a word, where *Melissa* came to mean 'courtesan' it came rather from the Assyrian Mylitta cult (by folk etymology), but where *Melissa* meant simply 'priestess' it derived directly from *melissa* 'honey-bee.'

NOTES

[1] *Names*, 3 (1955), 28–31.

[2] Cf. Van der Kolf, "Melissa, 3," Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, 29 (1931) 525 ff.

[3] Lucian, *Dialogues of the Hetaerae*, no. 7.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 30.

[5] Athenaeus, Deipnosoph., 13.572 f.; Strabo, *Geographica*, 8.6120 (ed. Meinecke 2.536; ed. H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, Loeb, 4 [1927], 190).

[6] Alcaeus 3.33.2.
[7] Lucian, *op. cit.*, no. 15.
[8] M. Scheller, *Festschrift für Albert Debrunner* (Bern, 1954), 400 note 3.
[9] *History*, 1.131.
[10] See Herodot., 1.199; see Preisendanz, "Mylitta," *Realencyclopädie* 16, 1 (1933), 1073. The name means perhaps 'woman in labor' or something similar.

American Palatinate Names.—Dr. Herbert Leutz is currently engaged in tracing the family names of the Kurpfalz (Palatinate), northern Baden and southern Hessen—those German districts which sent more immigrants to Pennsylvania and the Middle West than other German provinces. For some strange reason the family names of the old Pfalz have been somewhat neglected by the compilers of German family names. Here are a few names of special interest:

The family name of our President appears as Eysenheuwer in 1546 in the parish of Ebersbach;

the name of the Pennsylvania pioneer and poet Konrad Beisel originated from Beusel, a diminutive of Baus (in Ebersbach since 1420), related to *pausbackig*, 'chubby-checked.'

the name of the first treasurer of the United States, Michael Hillegass, is derived from Helligast (Höllengeist, 'spirit from hell'), obviously a nickname attached to a village actor who played the role of an infernal spirit in the pre-lenten plays; the name occurred in Mosbach in Baden after 1400.

Dr. Herbert Leutz (Mannheim-Neuostheim, Mühlenfeldweg I, 20) has expressed his willingness to give information to our members concerning family names of German origin. Requests should be accompanied by an International Reply Coupon.

Name Changes.—There are many instances of the corruption of a name into something quite different from the original, either in the actual spelling of the derived name, or in the local pronunciation of names that remain unchanged on published maps. There is the classic example of Picketwire from Purgatoire. Gloster and Wooster are samples of name shortening, although the city of Wooster, Ohio, was named for a general of the Revolutionary War. Cape Rosier and Bois Bubert Island on the coast of Maine are respectively Roseway and Bowbear in local usage, while Cockenoe Island on the coast of Connecticut was formerly (1878), if not at present, pronounced Cawkins. At one time there was a settlement (and postoffice) called Chomly on Cholmondeley Sound, Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, a close approximation of Chumly, the spoken abbreviated form commonly used in England for the longer name.

The reverse process evolved the names Bombay Hook Island and Bombay Hook Point in Delaware, on the west shore of Delaware Bay. At first glance they seemingly point to a definite origin, but in reality they have no connection with the city of Bombay in India, although that name may have had some influence upon the adoption of the present form of the names. The Delaware Guide (Federal Writers' Project) on page 486 states that a tract of land on the island was granted in 1675 to Peter Bayard of Bohemia Manor, and that the name is a corruption of the Dutch "Bompies" or "Bompties" Hook. On several maps published in Europe up to 1778, the name varies quite widely. In 1696 it was Bombayes Point, in 1773 Bumpo Point, and on two maps of 1778 it was Bumba Island and Bumbo Island. Bumba Island is shown on one of them as quite definitely separated from the mainland. Boomties Hook and Boomkes Hook or Hoek are other variants. On the earliest Federal survey (1841) both names are Bombay Hook Island and Point as at present. The name Bombay Hook in American usage has been traced back to 1817 (Blunt's American Pilot). In his "Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States" (1905) Gannett lists only the small town of Bombay, N.Y., definitely named

for the Indian city. There would seem to be some ground to assign the name to the influence of French mapmakers. The 1696 map cited above was published in Paris, while another French map of 1779 has Bombay Hook Island.

LEWIS HECK

Group Names.—There are interesting descriptive names for groups of islands, rocks, or shoals which as a rule include one larger feature and a number of smaller ones. Most frequently used are Hen and Chickens and Sow and Pigs (at least six of each), while there are single instances of Ship and Barges, Cow and Calf, Bishop and Clerks, and Cat and Kittens. Nearly all are located along the Atlantic Coast, with only the Cat and Kittens feature at the mouth of Coquille River, Oregon, and one case of Sow and Pigs in the entrance to Tillamook Bay, Oregon.

Several of these names are quite old. Bishop and Clerks, a shoal in Nantucket Sound, Massachusetts, is shown as "Bosie or Bosje Klerken" on a Dutch map dated 1698 by Johannes Van Keulen, and as Bishops and Clarks on an English chart dated 1790. The Hen and Chickens Shoal in the entrance to Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts, is found on an English map dated 1777. The name Sow and Pigs is in close proximity, but the earlier position of this name does not coincide with its application on modern nautical charts. Ship and Barges and Cow and Calf are at least 100 years old, and are in close proximity in the entrance to Blue Hill Bay, Maine. The former feature also has individual names, there being Ship Island and East and West Barges in the group. Another name that should probably be included in this category is Hue and Cry Rocks, off Cape Elizabeth, Maine, now charted as East and West Hue and Cry.

LEWIS HECK

Etolin.—It is not particularly surprising to find an Etolin Street in Sitka, Alaska. Several of the streets there were named for former chief managers, or governors as they were sometimes called, of the Russian-American Company, and Adolph Karlovich Etolin was chief manager 1841–1845. However, Etolin Street in Sitka is relatively new and the name reached it in a roundabout way. Several places along the Alaska coast were named for Etolin, among them

Etolin Island which is not far from the town of Wrangell. After the American occupation, Etolin came into use in Wrangell as a girl's name, and one of the girls so named was Miss Etolin Coulter. In 1940 Miss Coulter was in the employ of the Governor's office at Juneau, in charge of disbursements for the Work Projects Administration. At Sitka a new street was being constructed as a WPA project and the city fathers were advised that the street would have to have a name, for identification purposes. They wrote back, "We'll name it for the girl who writes all the WPA checks." And they did.

R. N. De Armond

The PIA "Benny."—The latest addition to the growing list of "Oscar" type award names is "Benny." Nine "Bennies' will be awarded by Printing Industry of America, Inc. at their convention next October. The "Benny" is a bronze reproduction of an excellently detailed old pewter statuette of Benjamin Franklin, patron saint of American printers. The model was selected by W. T. Clawson after considerable search for a statuette of suitable size, likeness, and workmanship. It is in the collection of the late Arthur Bloch Sr., who was a director of the Poor Richard Club.

R. D. Roberts

Sucker and Succor.—A century ago the word sucker was often used in geographical terms in the American West. Its origin may have been the presence of one of the carp-like fish called sucker (*Catostomus*) in the lakes or creeks, or the place may have been settled by people from Illinois, the "Sucker State," or the miners of one camp might have called the denizens of another a "bunch of suckers." When this latter meaning for persons who can easily be taken for a ride gradually gained ground and Western nomenclature tried to become respectable, local residents naturally objected to these sucker-names. A decision of the U. S. Board on Geographical Names (Sixth Report) ruled that Sucker Flat in Placer County, California was to be known as Succor Flat. At the same time, to be sure, a creek in Malheur County, Oregon, was to be known as Sucker (not Succor) Creek. In the same report of the Board three Sucker lakes received nicer names: Nawakiva Lake (Michigan), Oswego Lake (Oregon), Wapogasset Lake (Wisconsin).

E. K. G.

News, Comments, Queries

In Memoriam.—James K. Moffitt died in Piedmont, California, at the age of eighty-nine. He was a man unselfishly interested in all phases of American culture and literary endeavors. The *ANS,* of which he was a sustaining member since its foundation, together with similar organizations, regrets the loss of a true and generous friend.

Our charter member, Theodore Sherman Palmer died in Washington, D.C., at the age of eighty-seven. Since 1890 he was almost continually connected with the U. S. Biological Survey and other federal agencies. He was the author of numerous books and articles on zoology, ornithology, and game protection. In 1891 he was a member of the famous expedition which made a thorough scientific survey of the Death Valley region in California and Nevada. He was probably the first scientist to become interested in the geographical names of this strange district. His book on the names of Death Valley was published in 1948. (See *Names,* I. 62f.)

Our field of study suffered a great loss in the death of Albert Dauzat, who died in Paris at the age of seventy-eight. Since 1913 he was on the faculty of the Sorbonne and for many years was Directeur d'Études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Among his numerous publications two deserve special mention, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* and *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France.* His success as Directeur scientifique of our French sister journal, *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique,* was one of the notable achievements of his distinguished career.

Gazetteers.—Do you know where to turn to find the location of a place, a mountain or a river in British East Africa, in Madagascar, in Jordan or Bolivia? Do you know whether the name and spelling you have encountered are correct, and whether there is more than one place or feature by the same name?

The results of years of painstaking geographic and linguistic research applied to the systematic treatment of geographic names all

over the world are now being made available to the public in a series of gazetteers, of which these are the first four to appear. The names included have been officially standardized for use by all agencies of the United States Government by the interdepartmental Board on Geographic Names.

In these times when events in distant lands are of immediate importance in our daily lives we have to talk and write about them and the places where they happen; we have to see where the places are with reference to other places and the things happening there. In many parts of the world a town or a mountain may have had various names at various times, or more than one name at the same time, and each of the names may have been written or spelled in different ways. Names in languages written with symbols other than the Roman alphabet have to be transcribed or transliterated into that alphabet before they can be used widely in this country. As far as possible the names designated as standard, and the spellings if in the Roman alphabet, are those already fixed by the country where they occur or officially used in that country. Otherwise the names are rendered by procedures that take into account the facts of the language involved and observed phenomena of geographic name usage. Each name feature is given a one-word description and located by latitude and longitude.

Copies of these gazetteers can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at the following prices: British East Africa (601 pages), $2.75; Madagascar, Reunion, Comoro Islands (498 pages) $2.50; Jordan (316 pages) $1.50; Bolivia (269 pages) $1.25.

Bull Durham.—On page 127 of the June issue, 1955, of *Names,* R. D. Roberts asks the question, "Who has factual information about the name of 'Bull Durham'?" I believe the late Professor William Kenneth Boyd gives the most complete answer in his *The Story of Durham* (Duke University Press, 1925, pp. 59 ff.):

> After the Civil War "Mr. Green felt that a new opportunity was at hand. But two problems immediately confronted him. One was the need of a distinctive trademark for his product. So popular was his tobacco that many men began to put out Spanish Flavored Tobacco and Durham Tobacco. A distinctive brand seemed the only protection, and he sought one. One day a fellow citizen said to him: 'Your friend, James R. Day, has a new bull; why not have a picture of the bull and you on its back as your brand?' That suggestion was prophetic.

A short time afterward Mr. Green went to Hillsboro and consulted his friend John Y. Whitted. Over a morning dish of fried oysters, Whitted, pointing to a jar of Coleman's Mustard, said: "There is a condiment that is, as you see by the label, manufactured in Durham, England. It bears the sign of a Durham bull's neck. Why not name your product Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco and adopt the whole bull as a trade mark? The mustard must have an immense sale or it would not be found in every store, hotel and restaurant in this country; it is made in Durham, England. Your tobacco is made in Durham, N.C., and if you take my advice I predict as wide a market for your product as this mustard has attained, and if it should so prove your fortune will be made and Durham will become a great commercial centre.' Mr. Green acted on the suggestion, and a few days later, when Mr. Whitted passed through Durham on his way to Raleigh, he beheld the sign of the bull painted on sheet iron and mounted in front of the factory. The painting was done by James E. Berry, a refugee painter and buggy maker from New Bern."

DONALD T. CLARK

Additional remarks on Congress at Salamanca.—Canadian scholarship was represented at the 5th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences at Salamanca by Professor J. B. Rudnyćkyj of the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man. He delivered two papers: *Toponymic Neologisms in Canada"* (in English) and *"Spanish Topo- and Anthroponymy in Ukrainian Versions of Don Juan* (in Spanish), and presided over a session devoted to the standardization of geographical names. The series *Onomastica* (9 issues so far) published in Winnipeg by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences was exhibited at the International display of recent onomastic literature. After the Congress Rudnyćkyj spent three months in Western Europe visiting centers of learning, among others the International Centre of Onomastic Sciences in Louvain, Belgium. His European tour was sponsored by the Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Manitoba.

The Name "Canada."—As No. 10 of the series *Onomastica* published twice a year by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg will appear a paper on the Name "Canada" by Dr. Ivan Velyhorśkyj, a Ukrainian linguist of Toronto, Ont., who died in July, 1955. His paper is being published posthumously, prepared by Professor J. B. Rudnyćkyj, the editor of the series.

Book Reviews

The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior. By Einar Haugen. Volume I: The Bilingual Community; Volume II: The American Dialects of Norwegian. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. Pp. xiv, 317; vi, 319–695. Price $8.00).

The first volume of this scholarly work provides a comprehensive background for the study of the Norwegian language in America, and its influence on the emigrating Norwegian in his study of the English language.

Members of the American Name Society will be chiefly interested in the chapter entitled, "Names in a New World." Here Professor Haugen ably discusses the problem of surnames for the Norwegians in American and compares the naming customs in Norway with the onomastic problems in America. The inevitable change and corruption of surnames and given names is delineated. Even customs with regard to naming animals are noticed in some detail. The chapter is concluded with an analysis of place names in Norwegian communities in America.

The second volume is devoted to an analysis of the Norwegian dialects in America as spoken by informants in Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, together with North and South Dakota.

Elsdon C. Smith

Namenforschung als Wissenschaft. By Hans Bahlow. (Neumünster, Germany: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1955. DM 3.20).

According to the author, German place name research has been all wrong and has to be placed on a new basis. Like most crusaders and reformers he goes to extremes: all German onomatologists from Jakob Grimm to Hans Krahe have erred, and the standard work, *Deutsche Namenskunde* by Adolf Bach, is a "complete caricature of German nomenclature." There is a grain of truth in Bahlow's contention. Until Germany took the lead in science and scholarship and was politically united, Germans suffered under a similar

national inferiority complex as other nationalities suffer today. (See "Editor's Page" in the September issue of *Names*.) Hence we find in the writings of German philologists attempts to create in German geographical names a national mirror of German history and culture. Often they did not stress sufficiently that many of the geographical names of central Europe developed at a time when Celtic people were in possession of Western Europe. Now the author goes to the other extreme by tracing back all hydrographic names (he pays little attention to orographic features) to the many Celtic words meaning 'swamp': "thereby also the name of the *Germanen* is finally indeniably explained as a Celtic folk-name (dwellers by a swamp)."

Since the author may have something to contribute to our science we can only wish: first, that he would get rid of the idea that only he is right and every other German onomatologist is wrong; and, second, that he would acquire a style that can be understood by anybody who can read German. Instead of stating his argument and supplementing it with illustrations and examples, he throws at the reader all the knowledge he has acquired in an arrogant and confusing manner. Let us hope that our German colleagues will be able to translate this telegraphic style, spiked with exclamation points, into readable German.

Our readers might be interested to know that (according to the preface) the author was in charge of the first academic assignments in the field of onomastics at German universities (Rostock and Hamburg). The first course in onomastics at an American university was conducted several years ago by our vice president, George R. Stewart, at the University of California.

ERWIN G. GUDDE

Ohio's Western Reserve, The Story of Its Place Names. By DAVID LINDSEY (Cleveland, The Press of Western Reserve University, 1955. Pp. v–vii—111, $2.75).

The Western Reserve is an area lying in the northeastern corner of Ohio and encompasses 12 of the state's 88 counties. The region extends from the Pennsylvania state line west to Sandusky Bay and lies largely north of the 41st parallel. Many of the counties border on the south shore of Lake Erie. The author has included parts of

Ottawa and Ashland counties, which were not part of the historic Western Reserve; and parts of Summit and Mahoning county, lying south of the 41st parallel, for the sake of completeness.

He has limited his study in inhabited places: cities, townships and villages. He does not account for the names of rivers, lakes or other geographic features except as they bear upon the naming of populated communities.

Professor Lindsey has taught history at Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio, for ten years. He says that when he came to Ohio he was struck by the repetition of New England names like New London, New Haven, Boston and Plymouth in this part of the state. A search, which started out of personal curiosity, led him to seek data on the origin of these names in various libraries in the region, and from other sources in county and municipal offices, from newspaper editors and informed local inhabitants. Much of his information was gleaned from county histories and other published works. These are listed in a bibliographical note (p. 106).

The names are arranged alphabetically by chapters, a chapter for each of the 12 counties. The attractiveness of the book is enhanced by the use of black and white illustrations done by Professor Howard Oagley, a colleague at Baldwin-Wallace. Its usefulness as a reference tool is improved by the repetition of a diagramatic outline map of the "Reserve" at the head of each chapter. The location of the particular county covered by the chapter is set forth in solid black.

The author presents an interesting account of the beginnings of the Western Reserve as chapter 1, affording him an opportunity to explain the origin of many of the names appearing in the succeeding chapters. The last chapter, numbered 14, is entitled "Names in Retrospect." It is an excellent essay on the subject of choosing a place name.

The entries vary in length. Some are limited to two or three lines, merely giving the reason why the place got the name it has today. In other cases, where information was obtainable, he gives the founding date, name of founder or first settler, and often an entry occupies half a page. Some are 15 or 20 lines in length, delineating in considerable detail a romantic incident which may have decided the name of the town. The book is logically arranged as a reference

work but in addition to this it contains sufficient historical lore to provide much of interest and entertainment for the casual reader.

Akron, Ohio WILLIAM D. OVERMAN

Onomata. Revue d'Onomastique Grecque. 2–3. Athenes 1954. Editor: JEAN A. THOMOPOULOS (Galaxidi Street 17, Athens 2, Greece.)

The first number of this journal appeared in Athens in 1952 when its editor still resided in Sweden (see my report in *Names* I [1953], 147–149) and the present two numbers (48 pages in all) appeared in Athens while he lived in Addis Addis Abeba, Ethiopia. The contents consist of a two-page article of Professor Ivar Lundahl on the name *Delphoi* (pp. 1–2) and of various articles, notes, and bibliography all written by Mr. Thomopoulos himself, namely

"Les toponymes préhelléniques de la Mer Égée." This is a paper read by its author at the 4th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences at Uppsala in 1952. There are many good points in the paper, but I would not agree with all his conclusions.

"Whence the family name Myriallis" (in Greek). The assumption of a hypothetical form **amiraris* is not necessary.

"Byzantino-Slavic." He discusses some new books, especially R. Trautmann's *Die slavischen Ortsnamen Mecklenburgs und Holsteins,* Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig 45 (1950), Heft 3, and more extensively K. Jazdzewski's *Atlas to the Prehistory of the Slavs* (Acta Praehistorica Universitatis Lodziensis, Lodz, 1948), to which Thomopoulos brings objections and counterarguments concerning the Slavs in Greece in the middle ages. I have not expressed doubts about the Slavic provenience of the Slavic *Melingi* and *Ezeritae* in the Peloponnesus, as Thomopoulos inadvertently states; it is Professor C. Amantos who had doubted their Slavic origin. I have merely explained the name of the *Melingi* as Greek and that of the *Ezeritae* as a Greek formation (see *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 43 [1950] 301–303; I wrote on p. 333: "The Ezeritae and the Melingi most probably adopted the names created by their Greek speaking neighbors . . .").

Chronique Onomastique comprises the following items:

The 4th International Congress of the Onomastic Sciences in

1952, pp. 38–41; *Hellenic Place-Name Association,* p. 41. Thomopoulos discusses in a few lines the problem of forming such an association with the goal of making exhaustive records of the place-names of the Greek regions and of establishing toponymic or onomastic archives. I personally agree with the formation of a Hellenic "Name Society" but the setting up of onomastic archives requires much work on the part of that society to persuade the Greek government to initiate and pass the necessary law and its implementation with adequate funds. Mr. Thomopoulos may start preparations for founding the association and my hopes are that many will be ready to help.

Reviews: The book of C. I. Papachristodoulou *Place-Names of Rhodes* (in Greek) (Rhodes, Dodecanesus, Greece, 1951) is reviewed, pp. 42–44 (on *Apakú* see D. J. Georgacas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 [1951] 148).

Livres reçus are listed, pp. 45–48.—Fifty-seven items are listed.

Now that Mr. Thomopoulos is back in Greece, we wish him more regular publication of his journal and persistent work for the establishment of a name society, the need for which has received wide acknowledgment. Such a body would then work for the creation of onomastic archives.

DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS

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The California Academy of Sciences recently published a volume entitled *A Century of Progress in the Natural Sciences,* in honor of its centennial. My contribution to it is an essay, "A Century of Astronomy and Geodesy in California." Members of the *ANS* who are interested in the subject may obtain free a reprint of this article by writing to my home address, P. O. Box 512, Orinda, California.

ERWIN G. GUDDE